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CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND ECONOMIC POLICY*

The historical mind considers a crisis from a point of view quite different from that occupied by types of mind chiefly focused upon other aspects of the life of mankind than the underlying continuity and force of human instincts and aspirations, human interests and institutions. Regardless of preconceptions, of deterministic or libertarian bias, the historian thinks in terms of perspectives of time rarely coming within the purview of those engaged in the cognate social sciences. For the historian sees in the crisis that which is its most essential part, namely, the long train of antecedent causes of the events or developments which arouse widespread and often unmitigated apprehension because so many alternative consequences seem within the range of possibility. His familiarity with historical perspective trains him, too, to view with some measure of tranquility the possible outcome of the crisis. Antecedents and results are for him a part of the succession of events, the impact of forces and the definition of interests, which is taking place before him. Whether pathological and alarming, or superficial and insignificant, this process which he sees calls for an even more comprehensive interpretation of the past as at one and the same time background, and part, of the present, than he would feel called upon to give in the case of less exciting times. His approach to the problem of interpretation becomes, then, a

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general and fundamental approach, comparable, up to a certain point, with the constitutional and functional approach to the problems of diagnosis in modern medicine.

That much of the world is traversing a crisis of great magnitude is now conceded by the majority of persons of mature and seasoned judgment in most countries. When it began, and how, will provide material for more or less profitable reflection and discussion for years and years to come, both during the course of the critical period itself, and thereafter. These first confused years have witnessed a succession of attitudes, even in responsible circles, that will earn for them but little credit for insight, realism, and detachment. At the outset we had surprised annoyance as the prevailing tone of what is called "informed opinion," mixed with assurance that the readjustment would soon be discernible. Then came a period of intellectual makeshifts, somewhat parallel to those effected in public affairs, whereby the uncommon severity of the financial reorganization under way was sought to be explained. The makeshifts had soon to be discarded; and a realistic appraisal of essential facts began. We are only in the earliest stages of this process; but we are sufficiently advanced therein that many are beginning to review the more immediate past in terms of its relation to what we characterize as the crisis.

And here the question properly arises, what is a crisis? After all, history is an endless chain of events interlocking and dependent, or parallel and independent, closely associated or remotely related. The deepest and most enduring impression that its most earnest students receive from history is a conviction of the indivisible unity of all human life, a sense of the seamlessness of the whole fabric of the universe, in point either of time or of spirit. Events take place in such numbers as to reach beyond the confines of the readily calculable, and extend in the direction of infinity; their relationships are intertwined with the play and impact of human instincts so as to set up individual, corporate, and regional interests; obligations are created,—public and private,—to safeguard or to promote those interests; and on this network of correlated interest and obligation, right and duty, rests the structure of public and private sanctions which mankind has constructed

around its instinctive aspiration to establish a better order. If events are so inextricably interrelated, how are we to set some of them aside in a special category, to be called a crisis?

Some events have great significance for the lives of unnumbered human beings, because they mark the dramatic and visible termination of a tradition. The dethronement of Romulus Augustulus represented more than the obliging intention to create a chronological signpost for schoolboys. It was not to be compared, for example, to the lowering of one piece of colored cloth over a city rampart and the raising of another in its place; yet even the latter has at times symbolized a dramatic change in the course of the institutions, life, and culture of countless millions for a thousand years. That episode of 476 was in itself less colorful than any number of events of the sombre and overcast fifth century. But it marked the conscious culmination of the long process of absorption, of readaptation and of expansion of the technical apparatus of Roman life and industry and government, by the Germanic peoples. "There was no break in the course of civilization," wrote Alfons Dopsch,[1] "no abandonment of what civilization offered them, an abandonment which would have compelled them to construct everything from the very bottom. They took over the Roman Empire in a manner different from that in which any other conquest of which history tells us was consummated; they did not overrun it recklessly, and then develop on its ruins their primitive culture. The Roman world was won gradually by the Germans from within after it had been peacefully penetrated by them over long centuries, and its culture taken over by them. Even administration had in many respects gone over into their hands, so that the transfer of authority was only the last step in the long process. . . . It was with entire propriety that the Gothic king, Athaulf, could say that he had not in any way lessened the power of the Roman world, but had by means of German strength restored and magnified the Roman name." And Dopsch then quotes the remark of Sundwall — "The Western Roman Empire fell asleep without the slightest tremor." Yet, however tranquil the world may have seemed, this transition marked a critical moment in its

[1] *Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung* (Vienna, 1923), I, 412-3.

life. Few at the time could even sense that an end had come to a tradition nearly nine hundred years old; and none could see that the Universal State politically organized around the municipality as the heart of its pattern, had ceased to meet the requirements for survival, and was henceforth to serve as a convenient source for materials which could be patiently used in building up the concept, and then the reality, of national states rather than agglutinations of municipal units knit together by cosmopolitan and enlightened despotism. This is not to say that the framework of Roman life vanished, or the idea towards which it was still aspiring to build, namely, the concept of the Universal State. The institutional basis survived for countless uses, and much of it is still to be traced in the structure of our institutional life, and the life of our thought, today. The concept of the World State tended to remain vividly before men's eyes long after the Empire had fallen apart. Devotion to the exaggerated serenity of the Roman Peace became more intense somewhat in proportion to the degree to which conditions made more difficult the maintenance of stable governments, and tended to produce isolated, even stagnant regions each struggling along in an effort to integrate decaying municipalities with the countryside,—fast moving into the foremost place in the scheme of things. Men aspired to be worthy of universality, whenever the perils of their uncertain footing on the shore of a gray expanse of uncharted and formidable waters caused them to look back over the brilliant slopes down which they had come. The all too imperfect realization of the ideal of universality of political and social status had disappeared except from memory; but that ideal became the sanctified link of Christendom. The Church had become the vehicle of the notions and aspirations of universality, and in proportion as the practical possibility of political consolidation anew faded away, the certainty of spiritual universality and the community of a religious and a civil heritage consoled and encouraged mankind. The exigencies of local administration amalgamated with this persistent concept to provide the world with a working formula,—the most picturesque feature of which was the feudal system, anomalous in many respects, but firmly anchored in the realities of a system of production and consumption balanced

however crudely so it may seem today. The idea of a World State survived, in short, even if the formula for its achievement had proved impossible of fulfilment, and had left only an inexhaustible quarry from which other plans could later draw material. But the survival of ideas is after all one of the few unbroken lines upon which historians may build a rational analysis of the past and present. Men of great learning and profound analytical power are still to be found who sense a spiritual life for great ideals, a life surviving all mortal suffering, capable of enrichment as new generations become old and pass their way. It has been marvelously expressed by the great classicist, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in his essay "Weltperioden." [2] "Actual destruction," he says, "can come only upon material things; the spiritual contribution from the work of men may remain a latent force for all, during a certain period, as it does forever for the majority of mankind. Yet it is incapable of death, or of being lost, because it is of the spirit. Generations may pass away without augmenting it, but it suffers nothing in consequence of this fact, and if measured from aeon to aeon, it can only be regarded as having been increased. For what purpose? We do not know. God alone knows."

The end of the shadowy Western Roman Empire, then, was symbolic of a great crisis in the course of human history. When that crisis had begun, and how long it persisted after the particular episode to which we have referred, are questions to which no adequate answer could be given without taking account of the whole panorama of life in the Western World for several centuries.

Whether of long duration or confined to but a few years, a crisis is to be distinguished from other stages in the life of man as a period when the factors which affect men's individual and corporate interests undergo revaluation. A large number of persons, relatively speaking, become aware at about the same time, that a marked change has come into the relations between given objects and services. For example, one may consider what takes place in the economic sphere, and then apply the observation to other

[2] Published in 1902; later republished in his *Reden und Vorträge*, 134.

aspects of life. In the process of valuation for economic purposes, we may reasonably deal with four categories of value. There is original cost,—based theoretically upon the capital (whether material or labor) and the time, which went into the actual making of the object, or the actual rendering of the service. Then there is the cost of replacement, if it were to be undertaken. The play and interplay of these two classes give us value in exchange, that baffling and obscure stage where we bring in money as the measure of value. Finally, there is intrinsic value, value which changes, to be sure, according to circumstances, but which inheres, by reason of utilizability or prestige, in the object or service itself. Original cost and replacement cost are normally the determinants—so far as costs enter in calculation of money-prices,—but they constantly undergo fluctuations which we do not regard as critical. When, however, replacement costs become unpredictable or perhaps replacement itself becomes uncertain, both of these concepts of cost are shoved into the background, and interest centers upon things intrinsically valuable over the indefinite future and throughout a wide range of places and peoples. Since money, in recent decades, has tended to consist primarily of representations of debt (to the extent at the present time of not less than ninety per cent. of all that passes as money throughout the world), and only in the second instance of metals possessing inherent utility or widely recognized prestige, it is not surprising when a period of doubt as to the future liquidity of that debt sets in that people begin to prefer the money regarded as possessing intrinsic value over that which is representative of indebtedness, even after their governments have largely taken the former away from them. A profound alteration takes place in the values which people attach to money as the symbol of purchasing power. This change quickly works its way out over all the objects and services which we ordinarily use. Some objects assume a higher intrinsic value in our eyes because they are regarded as more essential, or more durable, as the case may be; others, that had been briskly in demand and had been exchanged at accelerated speed, cease to interest us, for the time, at least. A great revaluation then takes place. When it is reasonably complete, the relations in the economic sphere may not

be at all identical, or even comparable, with those which existed before the revaluation. An economic crisis of greater or less magnitude has been experienced.

The process of revaluation is ever under way, in a certain sense, even though its tempo and volume are seldom brought to the height which would warrant the use of the word "crisis." True equilibrium is not long maintained in any order of human affairs, and its fleeting sojourn is rarely recognized. The appraisal of the past becomes somewhat conventional at times, and the complacent acceptance of the present and confident discount of the future tend to be even less thoughtful. Rather long periods elapse in which the criteria for general judgments on people and their affairs tend to be much the same; yet even then, the successive impacts of economic and social forces are weakening, if not dislodging, the standards of valuation. When personalities of outstanding insight and power of expression reframe the setting in which specific values have stood, we realize, more or less dimly, that for a long time the trend had been towards some thorough-going restatement.

Indeed, it is this realization that prepares us to concede the existence of, and necessity for, certain principles of public policy which we call economic policy. These principles have existed in one form or another, primitive or elaborately developed, in all States. It is a principle of economic policy which lies back of efforts to improve the living conditions and earning capacity of this or that class, or a regional group, of a population; it is economic policy which governs the attitude of those charged with public authority in the matter, let us say, of the division of landed property, the facilitation of individual ownership, the creation of opportunities for enterprise. Economic policy is the category into which, for example, we should properly put the Homestead Acts, and the series of federal laws designed to ameliorate economic conditions on our farms, from the Farm Loan Act of 1916 through the Agricultural Credit Act of 1923 and Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 to the Farm Act of 1933. And economic policy may take us through the whole range of the law. Indeed, as a venerable French jurist wrote half a century ago, the field of economic policy and that of legal statement are ever tending to overlap; the jurist

is daily fashioning the formulae within the four corners of which the political economist must frame his theories or try to effectuate them; conversely, the economist is weighing the forces, and analyzing their conflict or association, upon the continuity of which must rest, after all, most of the assumptions of the men of law.

Economic policy tends to have a far broader horizon than that of a given day and generation. Like the population of the world's most refined and progressive city for some centuries, Byzantium,—a population with which the modern world gives evidence of many psychological analogies,—we frequently employ the language, and think in terms, of games, when we are discussing public interests. The object of those who take part in games, in competition of any sort, is to win. Observance of some sanctions, "the rules of the game," is taken for granted, and more or less jealously safeguarded. Now and then, the arbiters gather to perfect those rules, in the light of experience. Presumably, they have a genuine interest in both sides to the contest. But the players are not expected to look beyond the rules as received from authority, in weighing the permissibility of the particular trial of their opponents' resourcefulness or strength which they propose to make. This is not economic policy. It is not the strategy of public affairs, however brilliant it may be as a matter of tactics within the rules of the game. Economic policy and the strategy of public affairs are comparable rather with the foresight and planning, if such there is, of those who tell the arbiters and lawmakers before they revise the rules of the game, what is the fundamental purpose of the whole performance. In terms of the sphere loosely called college athletics, economic policy would be fairly comparable with some hypothetical general legislative authority representative of all those who direct the affairs of colleges, laying down the law for the makers of the rules of the game with an eye always on the general harmony of the game, and all games for that matter, in the scheme of education. In terms of non-college and non-school athletics, that is, of sport and recreation in general, the working out of criteria and sanctions of an amplitude and philosophical congruity reasonably comparable with the concept of economic

policy, is the type of task that presumably would be confided to the ministries lately organized by authoritative States in Europe and elsewhere to guide and integrate the use of leisure.

Economic policy, in other terms, involves comprehensive planning for the measurable future with due regard for all the factors which would affect the life of the given nation during the period in question. It involves a thorough and sympathetic grasp of the past and the present, as well as a conviction that when future interests of the nation as a whole seem to deviate materially from the line which the national interests of the past, viewed in the light of experience, have taken or ought to have taken, there will be searching and sustained analysis of every aspect of those interests before any policy is put into effect.

In his stimulating and systematic review of the history of the basic ideas of economic policy,[3] Professor Corrado Gini of the Royal University of Rome has classified all measures properly within the scope of economic policy as either direct or indirect,—the former being those acts "which restrain or prevent, or on the contrary encourage or impose" this or that action, while the indirect measures are those intended "to check or to stimulate impulses or tendencies" which are of great importance from an economic point of view,—such as "the instinct of reproduction, that of accumulation, scientific research, artistic feeling," and others. He then presents an admirable analysis of the measures of direct economic policy, finding them to fall within some four classes. There is an economic policy *which appears to express the will of the majority*, and theoretically represents the aspirations of the totality of the population. Acts within this category, he points out, may include those of the mildest sort of intervention, as well as others of the most rigid types of communism. Then comes a second category, namely of measures which perhaps run counter to the will of many—even, conceivably, of a majority—of the population. These are measures undertaken for the

[3] The introduction to the work of Lionello Cioli, *Orientamenti e Sviluppi della Politica Economica Attraverso il Tempo* (Rome, 1933), xviii ff. Dr. Cioli's volume is based upon seminar work under Gini's direction. It is to be hoped that the treatise will soon be made available in English.

protection of the true interests of the population as a whole,—measures the necessity of which they cannot themselves perceive for a variety of reasons. They are measures of the sort generally within the class we call paternalism. A third category of such measures can be called *conciliatory* acts, designed to reconcile individual interests with those of the collectivity as a whole. Finally, there is the *economic policy of regulation*, which aims to do, in part, that which the policies expressive of the will of the majority aim to do, while in some measure it reflects the motives behind policies of conciliation. "The characteristic of a measure within this group," says Gini, "is that of being desired by individuals for the benefit not of individual utility but of social utility."

With the wide range of measures and policies properly included in these four classes we are not called upon here to deal in all their aspects; but in our consideration of some of the applications of Christian thought in this field, we shall have occasion briefly to discuss from the historical point of view, certain economic policies of fundamental importance.

That Christianity should have had positive principles affecting economic interests of whatsoever scope was to be expected. Those principles emerged readily enough from the earliest interpretations of the body of Apostolic teaching. The all-inclusive paternalism of the Imperial State had touched the life of every citizen at nearly every angle; and the decay of society, while by no means exclusively attributable to the dessication of its moral fiber, provoked a wish, and then a lively demand, for a sweeping reorganization of the basic relationships of the economico-legal order. It was a far cry from the humble economic interests of the Christian communities of the first post-Apostolic generations to the end of the fourth century, when Saint John Chrysostom could apostrophize the all-inclusive jurisdiction of the Christian moral order, touching every aspect of the elaborate pattern of the life of his day.[4] The regional synods, the great national councils, such as

[4] As quoted by F. X. Zech, S.J., *De benignitate moderationeque ecclesiae in criminosos ad se confugientes* (Ingolstadt, 1761), 377: "Ecclesiam dico non locum modo sed et statum atque formulam vivendi . . . Ecclesiae enim non partes nec convexum tecti sive fastigium, sed fides ac vitae ratio."

the Toledan series, and the ecumenical councils, were refashioning in so many respects the *Weltanschauung* of a world slowly being converted to the Christian Faith as to have to reframe some of the economic principles imbedded in the Roman Law and the structure of Roman public policy. Slow though the conversion was, the adaptation of institutional life was relatively rapid; and the public and private law of the Romans was, after all, the principal corpus of legal and administrative precedents and sanctions to which the Church, like the Germanic princes, could turn.

It is earnestly to be hoped that zealous Catholic scholars will undertake the fascinating task of tracing the Christian concept of the economic order from the earliest Fathers of the Church to the days of Nicholas of Cusa, Nicholas d'Oresme, Giovanni Botero, and many notable figures between them, not forgetting some of the outstanding statesmen who experimented with numerous varieties of State socialism in the long course of Byzantine history; and that others will take up the thread in the fourteenth century, and follow it patiently through the confusion of the territorial reorganization of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the age of doctrinal controversy, of colonial conquest and enlightened despotism, of revolution social and economic, into the century of *laissez faire*, and at last into this century, always bearing in mind that profoundly important contributions to a Christian theory of the economic order were made throughout these last four hundred years by some of those whose separation from the Mother Church, historically considered, was in the beginning to some extent due to fundamentally economic rather than theological causes. Upon a basis such as this, it would be possible to set forth with discernment and effect the Catholic approach to the forbidding task of improving the economico-social order at the beginning of the second third of this century, a period which all may hope will be more auspicious than the three decades which have preceded it; one which, at any rate, began just when the unflinching intellectual and moral power of the present Head of the Catholic Church has led him unhesitatingly to assume the responsibility for initiating a thorough-going restatement of the principles underlying a Christian social order.

Certain broad lines which such a systematic survey of the history of Christian thought on the subject of economic policy would probably develop may be mentioned now, partly by way of justifying the survey itself, partly because of the contemporary interest in such matters. I refer to the Christian concept of progress, in its relation, particularly, to what we call crises; and to the place in Christian thought for economic policies direct or indirect, which purport to carry out theories of capital and population.

A Christian concept of progress would be, naturally, and was, historically, a concept of progress in the spiritual order, as the indispensable prerequisite to the gradual development of the reign of justice and peace. Material progress was not despised, as witness the immense contribution of the medieval Church to the economic development of border and hinterland in nearly every European State. Advances in the economic order were conceived of as representing the fruits of peace first of all, and then security in the possession of private property, coupled, however, with effective social control,—to use the vernacular of our day,—over production, and particularly the concepts of working capital and interest. It was long the sophisticated and superior attitude to affect amusement over the prohibition of the canonists to interest-taking as a livelihood. In the last couple of years, several thinkers who are hardly likely to be charged with any special partiality towards the canonists, have indicated that perhaps their concept of the true function of capital was sounder than it was fashionable to concede not so long ago. No theory, revived or put together in our day for the more effective regulation of the use of capital, is nearly so earnest in its emphasis upon the social interest in the regulation of capital particularly as a source of income derived from leading operations. The early and medieval Christian writers, the Italian economists from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, almost uniformly insisted upon social control of production, distribution, and the financial apparatus of society. To be sure, they could not always view the rigid regulation of industry by such institutions as the guilds with approval; and they were not generally in sympathy with such policies as tended to create commercial monopolies.

It would be natural to suppose that the foremost exponents of Christian thought should prefer policies which made for stability. Disastrous monetary and credit operations would be, and were, viewed with suspicion or alarm. In the Christian concept of progress, there was probably a fairly general assumption that it would be assured in proportion as stability in the civil order could be maintained, along, of course, with the prerequisite of spiritual betterment. If crises occurred, they were regarded as the consequence of widespread moral shortcomings or individual guilt; and their results were destructive to the stability upon which progress had to rest. The things which brought crises about were recognized oftener, perhaps, than might be supposed. I speak, particularly, of the period prior to the so-called industrial revolution.

A Christian theory of capital, as such, has never been formally put together. But the consensus of Catholic writings, at all events, would seem to point to the conclusion that there is an inseparable connection between capital and labor; that capital, in the last analysis, represents not something antithetical to labor, but something which not only could not be handled and physically exchanged but for labor, but also could not become subject to any standard of valuation if there were no population of consumers of what capital produces.

Christian thought has produced a fairly compendious theory of population; and the Catholic interpretation of the population problem, while essentially based upon considerations of moral theology, is not without a substantial and direct connection with sound principles of economic policy. The existence of a steady increment to the population, however small proportionally, over and above the numbers required for replacement of the existing population, has been viewed as desirable by those Catholic publicists, particularly of the last few centuries, who have undertaken to deal with the population problem. That a growing population is the primary source of capital, and that there is a direct correspondence between the need for capital and the growth of population, may not have been emphasized; but the basis was surely provided for the demonstration of the human element in capital,

and of the vital connection between population trends and the longer waves of economic movement which have culminated in prolonged and extreme crises several times in recent centuries.

A Christian program of revaluation and reintegration of the economico-legal structure is surely in order throughout the world. An intelligent appraisal of the present structure, and of the nature of any reorganization, calls for that sympathetic comprehension of the past to which I alluded at the beginning of this paper, together with a realistic and thoroughly impartial penetration into the principles of economic policy. Without the illumination and independence of criteria squarely based upon the best tradition in Christian thought, there would be little prospect of a program of economic policy adequate to preserve the really durable and creative elements in the heritage of civilization.

CONSTANTINE E. McGUIRE.

EFFORTS MADE BY RELIGIOUS GROUPS TO MAINTAIN PEACE IN EARLY NEW YORK *

Religion's part, intentional or accidental, in preserving or disrupting the peace of the Old World is too well known to bear repetition. The same remark cannot be made regarding its activity in this field in the New World. Although it is admittedly true that religious influences in North America have perhaps never reached the rather, and at times decidedly dominant, position attained by them in Europe, there are nevertheless many interesting, although neglected, chapters of American history dealing with this very matter. Such a one, for instance, is that of early New York.

In that area, in the midst of Dutch, English, and French surroundings, there existed an almost constant interplay of influences emanating from religious groups. One of the most important of these influences was the one directed toward the maintenance of peace. Although this influence varied continually in force and in place of origin, it retained one property by far the greater share of the time: namely, it was subject to suspicion by practically every one save its originator. Nevertheless, this religious influence directed toward the maintenance of peace was present in practically all of the years from 1623, when Cornelius Jacobsen May and some thirty families disembarked on Manhattan Island, until approximately 1763, when English influence definitely superseded that which was French in the Empire State.

During the administrations of Cornelius Jacobsen May and his successor, William Verhulst, religious influences were absent to a great degree for the very sufficient reason that New Amsterdam was unable to boast of a resident clergyman. Under the third director general, Peter Minuit (1626-1632), there arrived in 1628 the Dutch Reformed minister, Reverend Jonas Michaelius, and

* Paper read at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 29, 1932, Toronto, Canada.

with his coming religion began to assert itself. Personally, the Reverend Michaelius was disinclined to concern himself particularly with Indian affairs or peace between the Indians and the Dutch. Writing to the Reverend Smotus of Amsterdam, under the date of August 11, 1628, he assured the latter that:

> As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, yea, uncivil and stupid as garden poles, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men, who serve nobody but the devil, that is, the spirit, which in their language they call Menetto; under which title they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty, and beyond human skill and power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery, and wicked tricks, that they cannot be held in by any bonds or locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall, and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman, more than barbarous, far exceeding the Africans. How these people can best be led to the true knowledge of God . . . is hard to say. . . . It would be well, then, to leave the parents as they are, and begin with the children. . . . But this separation is hard to effect.[1]

The Reverend Michaelius, who was evidently none too well disposed toward the Indians, was not called upon to adjust any differences between the Dutch and the Indians. It was not until he had been succeeded by the Reverend Everardus Bogardus that an opportunity was given the resident clergyman to exercise a restraining influence on whites and Indians, or at least upon whites. And it is to be regretted that the Dutch Reformed minister failed in this matter.

This incident took place in the year 1642. Various small animosities had developed, and the former friendly spirit between whites and reds had given way to one characterized by ill will. Accordingly, upon the insistence of a committee of leading burghers, who presented (1642) a petition to the director at that time, Kieft, a punitive expedition was organized. It should be stated that the Reverend Bogardus was with Kieft at the time that Director Kieft received the committee, and made no effort, so far as the records show, to dissuade the members of the committee from

[1] *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, ed. Hugh Hastings, Albany, 1901, I, 49-68.

taking the contemplated revenge on the Indians. As a result of this expedition, warfare between Dutch and Indians followed. The struggle was marked by the massacre of eighty Indians on one occasion,[2] and the massacre of six hundred on another occasion.[3] Women and children were included in the latter manifestation of white supremacy.

This year, 1642, which witnessed the outbreak of hostilities between the Indians and the Dutch, was the same year in which there took place a remarkable growth in French influence in central and western New York, largely as a result of the increased activity of the Jesuits in the province during that period. The Jesuits, French for the most part, were usually on quite friendly terms with the Dutch. The contradictory interpretations which were later to be assigned to Jesuit activity by the English and the French respectively, were comparatively lacking from this period until the end of the Dutch rule in 1664.

One of these missionaries whose activities were to present the English and the French with such a perennial source of discussion, was Saint Isaac Jogues. This missionary was taken prisoner by the Indians in 1642, and was confined in one of the Indian villages at what is now Auriesville on the Mohawk River. Others of the group of workers were Fathers Bressani, Poncet, Le Moyne, Dablon, and Milet. Their labors, as here viewed, were among the Iroquois, who formed the Five Nations, composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Although the Five Nations were not numerically imposing, probably never exceeding seventeen thousand in number, their inclination toward organized and persistent warfare was so great that their help was being continually and simultaneously sought by the English and the French.

These earlier years, however, with which we are concerned, were characterized by the comparatively friendly relations between the French and the Dutch. The supposedly rather stolid nature

[2] *Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany, 1856, I, 151.

[3] *Ibid.*, 187.

of the Hollanders was seemingly complemented in such a manner by the supposedly more excitable nature of the French, as to result in the formation of fairly friendly relations. The Dutch gradually extended their holdings in lower New York, and also in the vicinity of Fort Orange, which was destined, of course, to become Albany after the arrival of the English in 1664. The French trappers and explorers were busy in upper New York and places farther west, and the French Jesuits moved freely from one Indian or white settlement to another Indian or white settlement. The amicable relations which existed between the Dutch officials and Dutch clergy on the one hand, and the French clergy on the other hand, exerted an influence for the maintenance of peace, which, if not immediately apparent, was none the less real. Both French and Dutch had individual interests, it is true, but these interests did not conflict to any great degree, so neither group was tempted to self-aggrandizement—with the Indian to be regarded merely as a pawn.

As indicative of these friendly relations, which in themselves argued for peace, we may recall the relations of Jogues and the Dutch at Fort Orange and New Amsterdam, which latter place was of course destined to lose its euphonious name for the harsher one of New York. After having been taken prisoner on the St. Lawrence in 1642, as has been previously mentioned, Jogues was treated by the Mohawks with extreme cruelty. His escape was rendered possible by the Dutch, who were on friendly terms with the Jesuits. Indeed, the States-General, the secular governing body of Holland, had sent over orders to the effect that every means should be used to rescue any Frenchman who might fall into the hands of the savages.[4] We know that in this particular case, the Dutch paid the Mohawks one hundred pieces of gold for the Jesuit's release. It might be mentioned in passing, in order that undue credit may not be given to the Dutch, that this amount was subsequently remitted to them from France. But the fact must also be mentioned that the person who particularly aided Father Jogues in gaining his freedom was none other than

[4] *Eccl. Recs.*, I, 167-168.

Dominie Megapolensis, the Dutch Reformed clergyman at Fort Orange. Father Jogues was provided with transportation down the Hudson River, and was kindly received by Director Kieft at Fort Amsterdam, and from there the missionary returned to France. Later, as we know, Father Jogues returned to Canada and from there went back to his labors in central New York, and was released from his extremely arduous missionary life by a martyr's death.

Attention may be called at this point to the radical difference between the attitude of the Dutch toward the Indians, and that later of the English toward the Indians. The Dutch wished the Indians to conduct themselves in such a manner as to leave the white settlements unmolested. There was no great desire evinced by the Dutch to have the Indians as allies. Naturally, they did not wish them as enemies, either, but simply hoped that the Indians would keep away from the Dutch settlements; and the Dutch settlements in turn purposed to do the same with the Indian villages. As a result of this attitude, the Jesuits were left quite free by the Dutch to work among the Indians. This resulted to some degree from an expression of belief upon the part of the Dutch West India Company, to the effect that it was ". . . morally impossible to convert the adults to the Christian faith." [5] Hence, the directors of the Dutch West India Company's affairs in America were not greatly concerned over missionary efforts. They were certainly not so much concerned with religion in general as were most of the governors in the English colonies.

The French Jesuits, taking advantage of this feeling of indifference, rather than toleration, upon the part of the Dutch, worked among the tribes whenever the latter organization permitted them to stay and carry on their work. The early records bear witness to the trials through which these missionaries were forced to go, but the Indians were not tempted very strongly actually to expel them, since they were often a necessary factor in peace settlements with the French. As a matter of fact, the governing body of Holland was more apt to question the activities of the Jesuits

[5] *Col. Hist.*, I, 340.

among the Indians than were the inhabitants of New Amsterdam or Fort Orange. As a result of this fact, Director Stuyvesant received a communication in 1656 to the effect that

> The report made to you there, that some Frenchmen with a Jesuit from Canada have come into the country of the aforesaid Sennequens, and begun to make a settlement there, was not agreeable news to us, for it can only be to the disadvantage of our Province and the inhabitants. However, we have not as yet deemed it advisable to come to a final resolution in this matter, as being premature, and the matter of small consequence only. . . .[6]

Then in 1658, this same Le Moyne effected an arrangement which aided considerably in cementing more firmly the friendly Dutch and French relations. This measure was the securing by Le Moyne from the commandant at Quebec of the privilege which permitted Dutch ships to come to Quebec to trade with the French. The grant of this privilege took place less than a year after Le Moyne's friendly trip to New Amsterdam in 1657. When writing to Stuyvesant, informing him that he had secured the favor, Le Moyne also enclosed a very friendly letter from Dailée Boust, the commandant, to Stuyvesant. The Dutch vessels were of course forbidden, as were also those of the French, to trade directly with the savages.[7] The French believed that abuses could creep in too easily in the presence of such unsupervised methods of trade.

As the Dutch regime drew to a close, so too did the relations of the Jesuits and the Dutch officials naturally come to an end. During the following decades the activities of the missionaries were to meet with far more attention than they had formerly, and were to receive various conflicting sorts of interpretations. The coming years were to be marked by desultory, and at times intensive, Indian warfare. Border massacres were to be not at all unusual. Conditions were to be such that a crying need was almost constantly felt for some sort of a steadying influence in the French, Indian, and English relations. In place of the rather simple and direct relations of the Dutch and the French, we now have to give our attention to the more complicated relations of the French and

[6] *Eccl. Recs.*, I, 363. [7] *Ibid.*, 421.

the English. One important phase of New York's history was practically over,—one which, however, had been comparatively peaceful and beneficial for the inhabitants of the colony.

Naturally, the political and military events attendant upon the passage of New York from Dutch to English rule are barred from discussion here because of their irrelevance as well as their complexity. Apparently, however, the English were so concerned with adjusting the matters concerned with the transfer that they paid scant attention to the French and Indian factors which necessarily entered into the order of things. Hence, in December, 1665, more than a year after the September of 1664 which witnessed the beginning of English rule in the former Dutch colonies, we find Governor de Tracy of Canada concluding a treaty with the Iroquois, in which operation he was unimpeded by the English. In the peace terms, the fourth article provided for Jesuit missionaries among the Iroquois, by the following words:

> That agreeably to their desires [i. e., those of the Iroquois] and earnest prayers, two Black Gowns [that is to say, two Jesuit Fathers] shall be granted them . . . that the said Iroquois shall in turn entertain toward the Black Gowns the like sentiments of gratitude they testified toward the memory of said deceased Father [Le Moyne]. . . .[8]

As further evidence of the lack of ill feeling between the Jesuits and the English officials in this interim of change, we have the very friendly and courteous letter of Colonel Nicolls, who had effected the taking of New Amsterdam for England, inviting, in October 1667, the Reverend Father Pierron, who was working in the Mohawk country, to visit New York whenever an opportunity presented itself.[9]

With the coming of Governor Dongan to New York, in 1683, marked changes began to develop in the English and French attitudes toward the religious forces at work among the Indians. In making a report on the state of the province in 1684, Governor Dongan, himself a Catholic, called attention to the necessity of certain measures for the preservation of the beaver trade and the

[8] *Col. Hist.*, III, 123. [9] *Eccl. Recs.*, I, 590.

maintenance of the English rule over the New York territory claimed by both French and English. He also stated that the French claims were based largely on the fact that French missionaries had worked in the contested area for many years. Indeed, as Dongan remarked:

> They [the French] have fathers still among the five nations . . . and have converted many of them to the Christian Faith and doe their utmost to draw them to Canada, to which place there are already 6 or 700 retired and more like to doe, to the great prejudice of this government if not prevented. I have done my endeavors and have gone so far in it that I have prevailed with the Indians to consent to come back from Canada on condition that I procure for them a peece of land called Serachtague [Saratoga] lying upon Hudsons river about 40 miles above Albany and there furnish them with Preists. Therefore . . . I have procured the land for them, and I would address to his Majesty and to his Lordships that care may be taken to send over five or six [missionaries]. By that means the French Preists will bee obliged to retire to Canada, whereby the French will be divested of their pretence to ye country and then we shall enjoy that trade without any fear of being diverted.[10]

Thus did Dongan inaugurate the controversy between the French and English over the religious bodies at work, and thus did he propose to settle it quickly and effectively. For various reasons, however, nothing tangible resulted from his plan. No concerted return of the Indians was made; no missionaries from England put in an appearance for the far from inviting task of preaching to the savages.

Apparently, however, Governor Dongan took no immediate steps in the interests of either peace or the fur trade to expel the French Jesuits from New York. The Jesuits seemingly did not realize that their presence was not welcome to Dongan, as is evident from the letter written by the Reverend Jean de Lamberville to Governor Dongan, under date of September 10, 1685, which communication informed Dongan that

> Since the despatch of my last letter, the Senecas who were desirous to make trouble and to persuade the Mohawks and other villages to unite

[10] *Col. Hist.*, III, 394-395. Cf. Kennedy, J., *Thomas Dongan: Governor of New York (1682-1688)*, Washington, D. C., 1930, chap. V.

against M. de la Barre [Governor of Canada] have changed their minds; since they were assured that the peace concluded last year, as you desired, would not be broken by M. de la Barre, as they were maliciously told. . . . Let your zeal for the publick peace, and especially for the Christians of this America induce you, if you please, to put the finishing stroke to this good work and to recommend the Senecas and other villages not to attach credit to the recent floating rumors, since it is true that the Governor of Canada desires with all his heart that all things should be quiet, and to second your just intentions. . . .[11]

Realizing that the petition for a continuation of the peace had been the most prominent part of de Lamberville's letter to him, Governor Dongan referred to it expressly when writing in the following May, 1686, to M. de Denonville, who had succeeded de la Barre as Governor of Canada. In this letter Dongan wrote as follows:

I have had two letters from the two fathers that live amongst the Indians, and I find them somewhat disturbed with an apprehension of warr, which is groundless, being resolved that it shall not begin here, and I hope your prudent conduct will prevent it there, and refer all differences home as I shall doe. . . .[12]

In his reply, under date of June 20, 1686, de Denonville expressed his conviction that the missionaries were working for peace, and he asked of Dongan that the latter strive to make conditions among the Indians more suitable for missionary activity.[13] Then again, in October that same year (1686), de Denonville wrote to Dongan, plainly expressing a doubt as to the latter's cooperation with the French Jesuits in their work for peace. The French criticized the English particularly because it was said that the English made liquor easily accessible to the Indians. The French governor contended that such action on Governor Dongan's part was equivalent to expressing openly a disregard for peace and concord, since the Indians, once under the influence of liquor, cared little or nothing as to the course of action they followed.[14] Upon receipt of these strictures, Dongan saw fit to reply in December, 1686, which reply was made up of component parts of

[11] *Ibid.*, 453.
[12] *Ibid.*, 455-456.
[13] *Ibid.*, 458-459.
[14] *Ibid.*, 462.

denial and justification. The English governor did not wish that trouble would develop between the French and the English as a result of the missionaries' presence and activities. Dongan stated that he believed the Jesuits should be a stabilizing, rather than a disruptive, influence. He wrote concerning them:

> The Missionary Fathers, if they please but do me justice, can give you an account how careful I have been to preserve them. I have ordered our Indians strictly not to exercise any cruelty or insolence toward them . . . and have written the King my Master . . . how necessary it is to send hither some Fathers to preach the gospell to the nations allyed to us, and care would then be taken to dissuade them from their drunken debauches, though certainly our rum does as little hurt as your brandy, and in the opinion of Christians is much more wholesome; however, to keep the Indians temperate and sober is a very good and Christian performance, but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and very turkish.[15]

And there the matter rested. De Denonville, although loud in his protestations that he worked unceasingly for peace and consistently aided the missionaries, whom he regarded as a restraining force to Indian depredations, did not always bring his activities into precise alignment with his remarks. A case painfully to the point is a particular expedition against the Iroquois in 1686. The Jesuit missionary, Father de Lamberville, was then among the Five Nations, but de Denonville nevertheless made plans to attack these Indians. The missionary was evidently striving for peace; the French commandant was just as evidently working for war. The commandant decided to leave the missionary among the Indians so that they would suspect nothing while the attack was being prepared and launched. Regarding this arrangement, de Denonville wrote on November 8, 1686, to the Minister of Marine, in France, the following letter concerning de Lamberville:

> This poor father does not suspect our design. He is a clever man, but if I recalled him from his mission, our purpose would be suspected, and the storm would burst upon us.[16]

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[15] *Ibid.*, 463.

[16] Cited by T. J. Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America*, New York, 1908, I, 235.

Fortunately, although de Denonville did treacherously attack the Iroquois, de Lamberville was nevertheless exonerated from any suspicion of complicity by the Indian leaders because of his past activities which had been so greatly concerned with the maintenance of peace.

Governor Dongan of New York took advantage of this new turn of affairs, and made further plans to rid New York of all forms of French influence. Accordingly, he arranged a conference at Albany in 1687, with the leaders of the Five Nations. In the course of his remarks on this occasion, he stated plainly: ". . . I desire the Brethren not to receive . . . any French priests any more, having sent for English priests whom you can be supplyed with, all to content . . . ."[17] During the course of Dongan's activities concerned with the expulsion of French religious influence in New York, de Denonville continually protested, but rather ineffectually. From Jesuit sources, as well, came protestations against Dongan's plan, and denials of Dongan's contention that other factors besides religious zeal served to keep the missionaries in the Iroquois country. One such letter of this nature was written by Father de Lamberville to Father Milet, when the latter was being held as a prisoner by the Oneidas. In this communication we have the statement made by one priest to the other:

> You are aware, and God is our witness, that as long as we have had intercourse with the Indians, we had no other intention than the salvation of souls, and the existence of peace, as well with the English, as between the French and Indians. . . . Although there may be war between the French and these English who are opposed to the king of England, nevertheless we always entertain the same friendly feelings toward Domine Dellius [Dutch Reformed minister at Albany], inasmuch as we both desire peace, not war.[18]

It was not until the administration of Governor Sloughter, in 1691, that the Indians themselves seemed to manifest any initiative in regard to freeing the country from any disturbing religious influences. In that year the Mohawks requested of Governor Sloughter that ministers of the Protestant religion be sent amongst

[17] *Col. Hist.*, III, 440. [18] *Ibid.*, 715.

them, so as to oppose the work of the French priests from Canada. These same Mohawks also referred to the fact that some of their number had been drawn away to Canada, as a result of the influence of the French missionaries who worked among them.[19]

This same tendency upon the part of the Five Nations to emigrate to Canada also engrossed the attention of Governor Sloughter's successor, Deputy Governor Ingoldsby. The latter realized that this stream of emigrants, composed as it was of the most civilized of the Indians, could not but work detrimentally to the English interest. The French were thereby gaining yearly in the number of Indian allies, and were able to exert more influence indirectly over the Indians who remained in New York. Continuance of such a tendency would result in French supremacy in New York. Ingoldsby wrote to the home authorities, directing attention to this alarming leakage, and stated that he felt that the missionaries were primarily to blame for it.[20]

The arrival, in 1692, of Benjamin Fletcher as Governor of New York did not serve to alter the prevailing English opinion that the religious influence at work among the Indians was fundamentally opposed to English welfare, and, therefore, disruptive of peace. The Jesuits sensed the attitude of the English toward them; and, as occasion offered, sought to dispel what they characterized as an erroneous opinion. In this vein, the Reverend Father Milet, while a prisoner among the Oneidas, wrote on July 31, 1693, to the Reverend Mr. Dellius, at Albany. The general theme of the letter concerned itself with peace, especially that which could be obtained by quieting the Iroquois. Milet wished to convince the English, through Dellius, that he was not opposed to them. In that spirit, he wrote: "I am a servant of the English, and am ready to sacrifice myself for them if they would only let me know wherein I can serve them." In the same letter he referred to some English prisoners, whom he had helped. Regarding them, he stated:

I pray again that the English Gentlemen would remember that I have formerly contributed to the sending home of seven English who were

[19] *Ibid.*, 771.

[20] *Ibid.*, 796-800.

prisoners. . . . I say this only to witnesse that I am a servant of the English Gentlemen, and it is known in Canida and France. From whence is it, then, that the troubles doe continue so long, and that it is refused to hearken to a good peace which would prevent the killing and murdering of the people as is now done. The innocent suffer with the guilty.[21]

The Governor of New York at that time, Fletcher, was decidedly unfriendly to Milet, and was trying to obtain him from the Oneidas, but the Indians stubbornly and enigmatically refused to surrender him. In his relations with the Indians, Governor Fletcher was ably assisted by Major Peter Schuyler. The latter was also desirous of breaking up anything that resembled a French and Indian alliance. It was felt that the weak colony of New York would be unable to withstand a concerted French and Indian attack. Hence, we find Schuyler of the opinion that the religious factors at work among the Five Nations constituted what was perhaps the most powerful influence prejudicial to the continued well-being of the English settlers and traders.

The Reverend Mr. Dellius, at Albany, seems to have been convinced that the proper attitude under the circumstances was one which blended the stoical and the optimistic. Writing, under date of January 12, 1694, to no less a personage than Governor Fletcher of New York, he stated: "I hear that Major Schuyler is coming . . . because of the rumor that the French are coming against us at Onontage. What truth in that tidings is, time will tell us."[22] The tone of this letter and other letters written at about this time by Dellius would seem to indicate that the minister had begun to lose the friendly feeling he had formerly entertained toward the work of the Jesuits. There was nothing of religious friction or of so-called intolerance in this new attitude. It was simply a growing conviction that the presence of the French missionaries among the Indians would make it more and more difficult for the English to retain a position of importance in New York. Hence, we find that Dellius began definitely and openly to urge the Indians in the vicinity of Albany to refuse any participation in alliances with the French.

[21] *Col. Hist.*, IV, 50.

[22] *Ibid.*, 78-79.

In much the same manner, then, as the year 1664 marked the end of the relations of the French missionaries and the Dutch officials of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, so too, did the year 1694 witness the end of cooperative efforts towards peace made by the French Jesuits and the Dutch Reformed clergymen. Whatever opportunity for good presented itself as obtainable through the combined efforts of these two religious bodies was not realized because of a lack of singleness of thought and action. Religious forces were to continue to exert themselves for or against the maintenance of peace in New York, but there was now destined to be little cooperation in the various movements.

As evidence of the influence which Dominie Dellius of Albany exerted in the political and military procedure of New York, we have the fact that he and Major Schuyler were sent to Canada in May, 1698, in order to arrange for the transfer of prisoners between the English and the French, as had been stipulated in the Peace of Ryswick, 1697.[23] There were many arguments presented by the French and English spokesmen in the conferences which followed. The motives of the French missionaries furnished a debatable matter. Dellius informed the Superior of the Jesuits that the French Jesuits were no longer desired in the Indian country, and that he himself would care for the religious welfare of the Indians.[24] The report later submitted by Dellius and Schuyler caused Bellomont, serving at the time as Governor of New York, to decide that he ought to make definite efforts to free the New York area from all French religious influence. He wrote to the French governor at the time, Frontenac, and stated that the Indians were desirous of Protestant missionaries, and that these religious workers would be supplied by the authorities at New York.[25] It is at this point that the Reverend Mr. Dellius fades out of the picture, since he was accused at this time of having secured some extremely generous land grants from the Indians by resorting to fraud. He found it necessary to sever his connections with the New York authorities as a result of this affair.[26]

[23] *Ibid.*, 340-341.
[24] *Ibid.*, 349.
[25] *Ibid.*, 368.
[26] *Ibid.*, 362-366, 565-566.

Peter Schuyler, however, remained in Bellomont's good graces, and was accordingly sent by the governor in April, 1700, on a mission to the Indians at Onondaga. Schuyler on this occasion assured the Indians that the governor was going to settle some Protestant missionaries among the various tribes.[27] Schuyler made arrangements on this journey for a conference between the Indians and Governor Bellomont, which was to take place in the following August. As the time for the conference approached, Bellomont wrote a letter to the home authorities in England, the Lords of Trade, and complained because he would be unable to assure the Indians at this conference that they would be provided with missionaries. In his letter Bellomont stated that the Indians had definitely stated their desire for some workers who would instruct them in Christianity. Bellomont himself indicated that he doubted if any missionaries could make a lasting influence on the Indians, but was willing to send missionaries among them in such an effort. He confessed that there were no men in New York at the time who were at once qualified and willing to undertake such work.[28]

Realizing that he had no workers available, and at the same time unwilling to permit the French Jesuits to work among the tribes of New York, Bellomont acted according to what he believed were the best interests of the English. We have no reason to feel that he was greatly concerned regarding the eternal welfare of the various individuals of the Five Nations, but we have every reason to believe that he was very actively interested in the temporal welfare of the sorely pressed province under his control. He believed that the situation demanded drastic measures. One of these he believed to be the exclusion of French ecclesiastics of every sort who were engaged in any work in New York. Even though not in a position to furnish religious influences decidedly English, he was resolved to free the Iroquois from that which was even remotely French. Accordingly, on August 9, 1700, he secured the passage, by the Council of New York, of "An Act Against Jesuits and Papist Preists." This act excluded the

[27] *Ibid.*, 657. [28] *Ibid.*, 687-690.

Jesuits and their companions, not because of any moral doctrines which they taught, but because of the political influence which they were said to exert on the Indians. In the decree, it was provided, that

> Whereas divers Jesuits, preists, and papist missionaries have of late . . . had their residence in the more remote parts of the province, and labour to debauch, seduce, and withdraw the Indians from their due obedience to his most Sacred Ma'ty, and to excite and stir them up to sedition, Rebellion, and open Hostility against his Ma'tys government,—for prevention whereof—Bee it enacted . . . that all and every Jesuit, and Seminary Preist, missionary, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical person made or ordained by any authority . . . from the Pope or See of Rome, now resideing within this province . . . shall depart from and out of the same at or before the first day of November in this present year of Seventeen Hundred. And bee it further enacted . . . that all and every Jesuit and Seminary Preist who shall continue to abide, remain, or come into this province after ye first day of November aforesaid, shall be deemed . . . an incendiary and disturber of the publick peace and safety, and an enemy of the true Christian religion, and shall be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment, and if any person being so sentenced and actually Imprisoned shall break prison and make his escape, and be afterwards retaken, he shall suffer such paines of Death penalties and forfeitures, as in case of felony.[29]

Such were the circumstances, and such was Bellomont's frame of mind, as he repaired to Albany to begin the conference with the Five Nations on August 26, 1700. In the first address to the Indians he conveyed to them the distrust that he entertained toward the French missionaries, and urged the Indians to have nothing more to do with them.[30] He also asked the Indians at the conference to try to induce those Indians who had taken up residence in Canada, to return to New York. The sachems of the Five Nations indicated that it would be difficult to induce the Indians in Canada to return to New York, but that they would do their best in the matter. Encouraged by this response, Bellomont urged them to make prisoners of any French missionaries who would come to any Indian villages. He promised them that " for

[29] *Eccl. Recs.*, II, 1368-1370.

[30] *Col. Hist.*, IV, 727.

every Popish preist and Jesuit which you shall bring to this town and deliver up to the magistrates, you shall receive one hundred pieces of Eight, pay'd you down in ready money, as a reward." [31] The Indians refused to promise to bring any missionaries to Albany as prisoners, but agreed to expel them from the various Iroquois villages.[32] Bellomont was so pleased by this development that he made unusually generous gifts to the Indians of such highly prized commodities as lead, powder, and rum.[33]

The appreciation of the Indians for the last mentioned articles may be gauged from their utterances at another conference, held in 1701, and attended by Indian, English, and French delegates. Both English and French were making the usual overtures to the Indians, and in response, the latter stated: "Now we are come to this conclusion, those that sell their goods cheapest, whether English or French, of them we will have a minister," and then they added, more to the point, "Wee believe the Christians are minded to go to warr again, because the Preist is so earnest that we should be newter and sitt still; and wee tell you wee will hold fast to the peace; and if there be any breach, itt will be your fault and not ours." [34]

When Lieutenant Governor Nanfan succeeded Governor Bellomont, he naturally fell heir to the troubles which had beset the latter. Hence, we know that Nanfan criticized the Indians severely because of the report that French missionaries were still working among them, in spite of Bellomont's drastic legislation.[35] The next governor, Cornbury, had even more reason to complain, because it was reliably reported that the Onondaga Indians had so far forgotten their promises as to send to Canada for a French missionary. Governor Cornbury gave them to understand that he would judge their allegiance, or lack of it, by their action in such a matter as the reception of French or English missionaries.[36] It was during the term of Cornbury's governorship, 1702-1708, that the missionary society in England, known as the Society for

[31] *Ibid.*, 736.
[32] *Ibid.*, 737.
[33] *Ibid.*, 740.
[34] *Ibid.*, 893-894.
[35] *Ibid.*, 897.
[36] *Ibid.*, 999.

Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Countries, sent the Reverend Thoroughgood Moor to New York as a missionary. The latter arrived in 1704, and tried to make contacts with the Mohawks, but the Indians did not seem to be anxious to receive him. He remained at Albany for about a year, and then decided to give up his plan of serving as a missionary, and returned to New York in 1705.[37]

After the year 1710, it may be said that the French missionaries did not ordinarily function as free agents in the Iroquois country. The successive English governors were convinced that the less activity upon the part of Frenchmen in the province, the better it would be for English security. But it would be a mistake to feel that the English governors were really successful in excluding all the French missionaries. French priests continued to work in New York to a certain extent until the Treaty of Paris of 1763, which removed France as a political force from that section of America. In 1723, under Governor Burnet of New York, the problem was again the subject of a letter to the authorities in England. It is evident from this letter that Burnet was working for Indian support so that the English might be able to take the fur trade away from the French, and thereby extend English influence into the interior of the continent.[38]

For the next two decades, it may be said that the French and English relations, both political and religious, remained rather strained, but not openly hostile. In 1746, however, during King George's War, Governor Clinton of New York warned the Indians against accepting any French representatives. As a matter of fact, the missionary influence that had been exerted in former years, was no longer a vital force in the New York of 1746. Although this influence was not destined for extinction, it had in this particular year flickered so low that the Indians saw fit to reply to Governor Clinton in the following manner:

> As to your suspicions of our Admitting French priests among us, they are become groundless since we have declared war against them. The admitting of priests would only tend to lull us to sleep,—on the contrary,

[37] *Ibid.*, 1077.

[38] *Col. Hist.*, V, 703-704.

should any dare to come we know of no use for him or them but to Roast them.[39]

Since the Iroquois were far more given to cannibalism than is ordinarily thought, we have no reason for holding that this expression should be accepted in any other than its literal meaning.

However, in a report concerning Indian affairs compiled by the Honorable Cadwallader Colden in 1751, there is mention made of the presence of several French priests among the Five Nations,[40] but English influence was powerful enough at that time to prevent any French priest from definitely taking up residence in any Indian village. Small French settlements or trading stations were ordinarily utilized by these missionaries as places of residence. In another report, of the year 1756, and compiled by Sir William Johnson, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in New York, stress was laid upon the need of English missionaries among the Five Nations in order to solidify English security.[41]

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1756, the matter of religious influence tended to occupy a rather humble position. As the war progressed, it was evident that the slight religious influence which remained was concerned with other matters than political affairs. As evidence of this, we have a letter written by a French missionary at the little French settlement of Swegachy, to the Indians living at Onondaga. This letter urged the Christian Indians at Onondaga to try to influence Sir William Johnson so that the latter would not permit the hostilities to affect the settlement at Swegachy. When the missionary stated his reasons, he included the following observations:

. . . this place is not Concerned in the war, but is only a school to instruct the Indians and their children living here. Let the English enter into the heart of Canada by way of Lake George,—it is a matter of no concern to me. Let them even come up to Lake Ontario, and go against Niagara,—it still will not affect me so much as if they should intend to break and destroy a place intended for nothing but religion, and instruction of the ignorant.[24]

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[39] *Col. Hist.*, VI, 322.
[40] *Ibid.*, 743.
[41] *Ibid.*, VII, 42-43.
[42] *Ibid.*, 393.

And at this point the activity of the various religious organizations which tended to promote or disrupt the public peace come practically to an end. Conditions and circumstances demanded that the Seven Years' War be accompanied by its counterpart in America, to be known by the misleading title of the French and Indian War. From this struggle, as we know, England was to emerge triumphant in both the Old World and in the New, and was to be in a position to rid herself of French influence in its two-fold aspect of the secular and the religious. The place left vacant by these two troublesome agencies was of course soon to be filled by the much more troublesome spirit of a united America, but with this consideration we have here no concern. Neither are we vitally concerned with an appraisal of the merits or demerits of the general aspects of religious work in the maintenance of peace in early New York. Someone has observed that the task of history is not to judge, but to relate. If this be true, the primary concern of the investigator is to ascertain the facts, and then make them known in an impartial and unprejudiced manner. If they are startling in their import, they will speak for themselves and require no interpreter; if they are rather contradictory and confused, they should not be accorded a dogmatic spokesman, since nothing can logically result save disagreement and misinterpretation.

With this interesting phase of our nation's early history, then, let us suspend too definite a judgment. It would seem that in general the work of the religious groups was definitely in favor of peace. At times, it is difficult to know just how much of truth, and how much misinterpretation, the records contain. Other factors more powerful than those religious were almost constantly in operation, and working, intelligently or gropingly, sometimes in conformity with, and sometimes in opposition to, the various religious factors. The final wish is apt to be one to the effect that the religious forces might have been given a much greater degree of freedom in the maintenance of peace.

PAUL KINIERY.

THE PIOUS FUND OF THE CALIFORNIAS

The Pious Fund of the Californias consisted of donations contributed by various individuals of New Spain for the founding and maintenance of missions in the Californias.[1] The history of the Pious Fund is both political and religious in character. It has grown from a domestic to an international problem in scope. It arrested the attention of the government of Mexico, of the State of California, of the United States, and was the first case to be arbitrated by a tribunal of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, sitting at The Hague in 1902. In the early history of the fund religious fervor, generosity, and energetic zeal predominated; but during the later period it devolved into a struggle over the one who should reap the benefits of the fund.

The early attempts at colonization by New Spain were of a dual nature. The missionaries were interested in the conversion of the Indians, while the soldiers representing the crown were working for the subjection of the new territory. This dual purpose naturally brought about clashes between the two, and it became the desire of the missionaries to attempt the complete conversion of the natives of the Californias with money donated by members of the Catholic Church. This would give them more complete control, and much of the friction that had previously been experienced would be eliminated.

This idea was incorporated in a petition to the Spanish crown and on February 5, 1697, the authority to colonize and Christianize the Californias was given to two Jesuit missionaries, Father Juan María Salvatierra and Father Eusébio Kino. The privilege was granted on two conditions: the possession of all territory was to be made in the name of the King of Spain; and the royal treasury was not to be called on for funds except by order of the king.[2]

[1] Chapman, Charles E., *History of California, the Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), 174.

[2] *Ibid.*

It was at this stage of the enterprise that the Pious Fund was created. Salvatierra was aided by Father Juan de Ugárte in raising the funds by private subscription. The donations were large, and the donors usually specified that under no circumstances were the funds to be placed under the administration of a secular officer. The gifts, usually 10,000 *pesos* in property, were deposited to the credit of the fund, and only the income was available for the establishment of missions.[3] All the funds were handled by a Jesuit administrator who had charge of the maintenance of the missions. Up to the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768, the fund had experienced a steady growth; but an accurate statement of its condition was difficult to make because so much of the capital was invested in estates. With the departure of the Jesuits the Spanish government became the administrator of the fund and continued to apply the income from the fund for the maintenance of the missions of the Franciscan and Dominican orders.[4] When Mexico obtained her independence from Spain in 1821, she succeeded the mother country as administrator of the fund. In 1832 a decree ordered the rural properties to be rented, and the proceeds placed in the national treasury for the use of the missions. This arrangement continued until 1840 when a bishopric was created in the Californias. The office of bishop superseded the office of Father-President of the missions. Henceforth the bishop and his successors were to administer the Pious Fund.[5] Early in 1842 Santa Anna, Provisional President of Mexico, asked Pedro Ramírez, the newly appointed agent of Bishop García Diego, for a loan from the fund of $40,000. Because of insufficient funds, Ramírez refused the request. Immediately Santa Anna repealed that portion of the decree of 1840 giving the administration of the fund to the bishop, and the national government again assumed

[3] *Ibid.*, 181.

[4] Amat, Thaddeus and Alemany, Joseph S. *vs.* Mexico, *Proceedings Before the Mexican and American Mixed Claims Commission of July 4, 1868* (Washington, 1902), 607.

[5] Arrillaga, Basilio, J., compiler, *Recopilación de Leyes, Descretes, Bandos, Reglamentos, Circulares y Providencias de Los Supremos Poderes y otros Autoridades de La Republica Mexicana.* July to December, 1836 (Mexico City, 1837), 107.

control of the fund.[6] Later in the same year Santa Anna reenforced his earlier decree by ordering the properties of the fund sold and the proceeds incorporated into the national treasury. The government was to pay six per cent. interest on the capital, gradually pay off the loan from the tobacco revenue, and charge nothing for administering the fund.[7] Despite protest this plan was largely carried out, but on April 3, 1845, the Mexican Congress passed an act restoring to the bishop and his successors the properties of the fund yet unsold.

There was no mention of the Pious Fund in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; but three years after the close of the Mexican War it was brought to the attention of the people of California when the California State Senate appointed a committee to investigate the existence of the fund.[8] The committee examined a group of letters that had passed between the federal government of Mexico and Pedro Ramírez following the decree of 1842.[9] As a result of the committee's investigation a resolution was passed asking the President of the United States to look into the matter and if it appeared that the fund belonged to the Catholic Church in California, that he cause the amount so due to be retained out of the balance of the installments being paid Mexico by the United States under the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.[10] However, no definite action was taken by the federal government at this time.[11]

In 1853, John T. Doyle, an attorney of San Francisco, was retained by Bishop Alemany of California to assist in confirming some land titles.[12] Incidental to this investigation, Alemany

[6] Dublan, Manuel, compiler, *Legislación Mexicana ó Collecion de Los Disposiciones Legislativas expedidas desde La Independencia de La Republica* (Mexico City, 1876), IV, 111.

[7] Chapman, Charles E., *op. cit.*, 182.

[8] State of California, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate* (Second Session, 1851), 55.

[9] The translation of this group of letters are included in Amat, Thaddeus et al. *vs.* Mexico, *op. cit.*, 498-523.

[10] State of California, *op. cit.*, 733.

[11] *House Document*, 57 Cong., 2 sess. (Ser. 4442, Doc. 1, 1903), 125.

[12] Doyle was born in New York City in 1819. He was graduated from Georgetown College in 1837, taking first honors. He moved to San Francisco

submitted to Doyle the letters that had been examined by the senate committee, hoping to find a legal basis for a claim of the Catholic Church in California on the fund.[13] After a thorough examination of this correspondence and various histories of Mexico and California,[14] Doyle reported to Bishop Alemany that he believed there might be grounds for a claim, but it would be necessary to present it to the next Claims Commission for arbitration between the United States and Mexico.[15] The matter drifted along until 1857 when Alemany, who had been elevated to the newly-created Archdiocese of San Francisco, retained Doyle and his law partner, Eugene Casserly, to obtain for the Church in California her share of the Pious Fund.[16] Doyle and Casserly were to receive twenty-five per cent. of any award obtained from Mexico on this claim.[17]

No progress was made on the case until 1870 when Doyle on Sunday, March 27, of that year noticed in reading a New York paper that March 31 would be the last day for presenting to a Claims Commission claims that had been concluded between the United States and Mexico on July 4, 1868.[18] The next day Doyle obtained a text of the Claims Commission and found that only those claims arising since 1848 were permitted to be filed.[19] To make matters worse Archbishop Alemany and Bishop Amat were

in 1851 and excepting seven years (1856-1863), practiced law there until his death in 1906. The Pious Fund case was called the "great effort of his life."

[13] Doyle, John T., *The Pious Fund Case in the Matter of the Distribution of the Award*, Pamphlet in the Library of Edmund M. Doyle (privately printed, 1904), 1.

[14] Extensive use was made of Venegas, Miguel, *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista temporal, y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente* (Madrid, 1757).

[15] Doyle, John T., *op. cit.*, 2. [16] *Ibid.*

[17] Doyle, John T., *In the International Court of The Hague, The Case of the Pious Fund of California*, Pamphlet in the Huntington Library (San Francisco, 1906), 5.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] Article II of the text of the Claims Commission said, "It is agreed that no claim arising out of a transaction of a date prior to the second of February, 1848, shall be admissible under this Convention," in Malloy, William M., compiler, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and other Powers, 1776-1923* (Washington, 1910-1923), I, 1130.

both in Europe at the time. Doyle finally decided to waive all claim to the principal of the fund and claim only the interest on the principal since 1848.[20] Such an alteration in the claim would make it admissible before the Claims Commission. The claim was duly filed on March 30 by Casserly, who had previously been elected United States Senator from California.[21] Doyle then filed a memorial to the claim, together with a short history of the fund and a list of the items of demand, which estimated the principal of the fund to be $1,837,911.78. No action was taken on the claim until April 24, 1871, when Caleb Cushing, on behalf of Mexico moved to dismiss the case.[22] Cushing listed his reasons as cause for dismissal, and Doyle replied with an able refutation. Manuel Aspiroz, who succeeded Cushing as Mexico's agent, also presented a series of formidable arguments and these in turn were answered by the counsel for the Catholic Church in California.[23] All of these arguments were examined by the commissioners before rendering a decision. On May 19, 1875, the opinions of the commissioners were announced. Manuel de Zamacona, the Mexican commissioner, felt that the case should be dismissed without hesitation; and William H. Wadsworth, the commissioner for the United States, favored the payment of the claim which he felt should be six per cent. on the principal for twenty-one years, from 1848 to 1869.[24]

Since the commissioners differed in their opinions, it was necessary to appoint an umpire to render a decision.[25] Sir Edward

[20] This claim for interest was based on the decree of Santa Anna in 1842, wherein he promised to pay six per cent. interest on the principal of the fund until the loan was paid off.

[21] Doyle, John T., *In the International Court of The Hague, The Case of the Pious Fund of California*, 6.

[22] Amat, Thaddeus et al. *vs.* Mexico, *op. cit.*, 67.

[23] Aspiroz had for some time been a clerk in the State Department in Mexico. He had been selected by the Juarez government as a Judge Advocate of the Court Martial which had tried Emperor Maximilian.

[24] Amat, Thaddeus et al. *vs.* Mexico, *op. cit.*, 526.

[25] Article I of the Claims Convention reads. "The commissioners shall then name some third person to act as an umpire in any case or cases on which they may themselves differ in opinion," in Malloy, William M., *op. cit.*, 1129.

Thornton, British Ambassador to the United States, was selected to review the case in this capacity. Thornton was presented additional briefs by the counsel for Mexico and the Catholic Church in California, and he rendered his decision on November 11, 1875. His opinion was that Mexico should pay the sum of $904,700.79 in gold.[26] The following year Thornton corrected an arithmetical error in the award but denied a petition for a rehearing by the Mexican counsel. The final award as made by Thornton may be summarized as follows:

Total amount of the fund	$1,435,033.00
With interest at six per cent	.06
Interest for one year at six per cent	$ 86,101.98
Interest for twenty-one years at six per cent	$1,808,141.58
One half due Upper California	$ 904,070.79
One half due Lower California	$ 904,070.79 [27]

Mexico paid the award in annual installments, the last payment being made in 1890.[28] Doyle and the Church prelates had considered submitting another claim for interest since 1869 but hesitated, fearing that if any action was begun, Mexico might stop payment of the annual installments on the previous award.[29] No sooner had the 1890 payment been made however than steps were taken to file another claim for interest since 1869.[30] But it was not until John Hay became Secretary of State in 1897 that much was accomplished in the submission of a new claim. It was during this period that an extensive correspondence was carried on between Secretary Hay and Mariscal, the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs, on the matter of submitting a new claim.[31] Hay was assisted considerably by Powell Clayton, United States Minis-

[26] Amat, Thaddeus et al. *vs.* Mexico, *op. cit.*, 610.

[27] Doyle, John T., *In the International Court of The Hague, The Case of the Pious Fund of California*, 7.

[28] *Ibid.*, 8.

[29] Alemany had suggested such a procedure three different times, in 1882, 1883, and 1884.

[30] *Ibid.*, 8.

[31] Fifty-seven of these letters appear in Department of State, *Diplomatic Correspondence between the United States and the Republic of Mexico relative to "The Pious Fund of the Californias"* (Washington, 1902).

ter to Mexico. Mariscal eventually agreed with Hay to arbitrate the case and suggested either The Hague Tribunal or one created by the International Congress of American States as being acceptable to Mexico.[32] Hay acting, as he said, upon the advice of President Roosevelt chose The Hague Tribunal, pointing out that the case could be submitted under Article XXXII of the Hague Convention.[33] It was also the wish of Roosevelt to have Mexico and the United States present the first case to be tried by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.[34] A protocol was drawn up and accepted by the two governments and the way was again paved for a final settlement of the case. Previous to this time, Alemany's successor, Archbishop Riordan of San Francisco, had retained Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada and Jackson H. Ralston, one of Stewart's secretaries, to assist Doyle in the presentation of the case at The Hague. After the ratification of the protocol Secretary Hay appointed Ralston as agent for the United States in charge of the case.

The next task and a very important one was the selection of arbitrators. It is here that the inner workings of diplomatic negotiations may be observed. There was not much difficulty in the selection of the arbitrators by the United States. Hay had known for some time Theodore de Martens, privy councillor and member of the imperial ministry of foreign affairs for Russia, who agreed to serve upon such a request from the Secretary of State.[35] As the other arbitrator Ralston preferred an Englishman[36] and Sir Edmund Fry, who had sat in the High Court of Chancery and as Lord Justice of Appeal, was selected.

Of uppermost importance to the United States now was the selection which the Mexican government would make. The Department of State at Washington wrote the ambassadors of the United States in Europe to give the department certain informa-

[32] Doyle, *op. cit.*, 75.
[33] Personal interview with Jackson H. Ralston, August 5, 1930.
[34] Doyle, *ibid.*
[35] San Francisco *Monitor*, October 18, 1902.
[36] Personal Interview with Jackson H. Ralston.

tion on possible arbitrators.[37] Especially did they wish to know of any hostility they might have displayed toward the United States or the Roman Catholic Church. So frank were the replies made by the American ambassadors that had they been made public they would have involved us in many difficulties with European nations.[38] Mexico actually selected an Italian, Senator Guarnaschelli, who had run for his office on an antipapal platform, but he could not serve because of the death of a son.[39] In his place Mexico appointed T. M. C. Asser, who had been professor of international law at the University of Amsterdam. Mexico's other selection was Savornin Lohman, former minister of the interior of The Netherland's government. These four arbitrators chose as an umpire Henning Matzen, President of the Danish Chamber of Deputies and a professor in the University of Copenhagen.

On September 15, 1902, the court began its sessions at The Hague. A memorial and a rebuttal were presented by each of the contesting agents, and it was upon these statements that the court rendered its decision. The court was in session almost daily until October 1, when the arbitrators adjourned until October 14 in order to deliberate upon the arguments presented. On this day the decision, consisting of three printed pages, was read. The court unanimously found that the claim of the Catholic Church in California was governed by the principle of *res judicata,* that is, that since the case had been decided by a competent court in 1875 further litigation was unnecessary.[40] As a result Mexico must pay to the United States $1,420,682.67 in money having legal currency in Mexico. This sum represented the annuities due from 1869 to 1902 at the rate of $43,050.99. Furthermore Mexico was to make an annual payment of $43,050.99 to the United States perpetually.[41] The court found that since the silver dollar was the legal currency in Mexico, a payment in gold could not be extracted.[42] In regard to this point the decision of Sir Edward Thornton did not have the force of *res judicata* because the ques-

[37] Doyle, *ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *House Document*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., *op. cit.*, 17.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Doyle, *ibid.*

tion of the manner in which the payment was to be made did not relate to the basis of the right in litigation but only to the execution of the sentence.[43] When this decision was rendered, it appeared to the prelates of the Church in California that a final settlement had been reached; but such was not the case.

In the summer of 1903 the Mexican government notified Minister Clayton that Mexico was ready to make the payment in silver. Clayton investigated the cost of exchange and found it to be about $40,000.[44] He notified the Department of State at Washington of this fact, and in turn he received a promise from the Treasury Department that it would buy the silver in San Francisco and then recoin it as money to be used in the Philippines. The silver was sent to San Francisco by express at a cost of about $6,000. Several attempts were made by patriotic Mexicans to prevent this large amount of silver leaving the country, but their attempts were unsuccessful.[45] Mexico continued her annual payments of $43,050.99 in silver up to and including 1912.[46] The 1913 payment was made in Mexican bank notes that were greatly depreciated in value.[47] These were deposited in the First National Bank of El Paso, Texas, by the Church prelates until a decree was passed by the Mexican Congress for the exchange of this depreciated currency for Mexican government bonds. The currency that had been received for the 1913 payment was exchanged for government bonds; but no payments have been made thereon. The payment made in 1914 is still in San Francisco and has never been redeemed. No payment of any kind has been made since 1914. However there is a Claims Commission sitting in Washington which was created by agreement with Mexico on September 8, 1923, to which the United States on behalf of the Archbishop

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] Personal interview with Jackson H. Ralston.

[45] Letter from John T. Doyle to Ignacio Sepúlveda, July 9, 1903, in Doyle, John T., *Correspondence from 1858 to 1906*, 30 v., Library of Edmund M. Doyle, Menlo Park, California.

[46] These payments yielded substantially fifty cents on the dollar.

[47] All of the facts concerning the history of the Pious Fund since 1912 were obtained from Garret W. McEnerney, San Francisco, California, who is the present attorney for the Church in California.

and Bishop of California has presented a claim for the installments due from 1913 to 1925 inclusive. It is thought that eventually the United States will be given an award against Mexico for this sum, but just when it will be collected it is very difficult to say.

Thus closes the story of the Pious Fund of the Californias, a story disclosing a strange mingling of lofty missionary zeal and mundane materialism; a story which, taking its beginning in spiritual idealism, winds its way through a bewildering tangle of political revolutions and clash of armies, claims commissions and international tribunals. It would seem that the history of the Pious Fund has followed a cycle, for the present status of the case is much the same as it was sixty years ago when a claim was being presented to a claims commission between the United States and Mexico, differing only in the reenforcement of the claimant's position by the award at The Hague. This indeed is an extraordinary result for the noble vision of Salvatierra and Ugárte, creators of the Pious Fund of the Californias.

WILLIAM E. McDONALD.

MISCELLANY

THE MYTH OF THE "FRENCH SCHEME FOR THE ENSLAVEMENT OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS" (1783–1784)

All students of American history who deal with the question of the establishment of the American hierarchy in the United States, are familiar with the rôle ascribed to France in the negotiations which preceded the appointment of John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the American missions on June 9, 1784. They have undoubtedly noticed the great difference in the appreciation of that rôle by the earlier historian of that period, B. U. Campbell's "Memoirs and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll," published serially in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, 1844, and by two later historians: John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore*, New York, 1888; and Dr. Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll (1735-1815)*, New York, 1922. While B. U. Campbell is generous in his tribute to France, John Gilmary Shea denounces the "French scheme for the enslavement of American Catholics," and Dr. Guilday exposes the same topic under the title: "French Ecclesiastical Interference in the American Church."

There were not wanting students who had an intimate knowledge of the general policy of France towards the United States in the years of the Revolution and who resented the imputation thus directly laid against Barbé de Marbois, French Chargé d'Affaires in the United States from the year 1784, and against Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun. Though Shea's accusation of French meddling had gone unchallenged for half a century and many were inclined to yield to the authority of a later historian whose thesis was presented with all the apparatus of the most exacting historical criticism, we felt almost instinctively the untruth or at least the exaggeration of the aspersion; and realizing that this severe indictment of the policy of the whole French government and of the French hierarchy was found in works which are moulding the teaching of all Catholic schools and seminaries in the United States, we wondered if a complete reexamination of the evidences of the case might not succeed in removing a cause of ill-feeling. We therefore set out on the task of assembling all available documents, most of which had already been published, of arranging them chronologically, and of studying them with the desire of discovering the truth pleasant or unpleasant. And as we read,

the conviction grew stronger and stronger in our mind that the charge of undue interference on the part of France in the establishment of the American hierarchy was altogether unfounded and that the "scheme" denounced by Gilmary Shea was purely imaginary. Far from attempting to use religion as a means to secure her influence in the United States in the years 1783-1784, France showed only disinterestedness and generosity by meeting the desires of the Holy See in the matter of providing for the needs of the Church in a friendly nation. Too long, therefore, has an unjust charge against her run its course through heavy tomes and short essays, and been echoed from the rostrums in the classrooms of our Catholic schools.

The following pages are the last chapter of a larger study, entitled: *The Rôle of France in the Establishment of the American Hierarchy,* which is soon to appear in the series of *Historical Documents of the Institut Français de Washington.* All the available documents referring to the case will be given in full in the volume. Here we shall content ourselves with a critical examination of the interpretation of those documents by B. U. Campbell, John Gilmary Shea, and Dr. Peter Guilday.

We beg to express our thanks to Dr. Guilday for having requested us to give the readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW the "primeur" of our findings.

I. B. U. CAMPBELL

When he wrote his "Memoirs and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll" in 1844, B. U. Campbell had at his disposal only the Baltimore Cathedral archives in which the correspondence of Archbishop Carroll had been preserved.

None of the letters exchanged between the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda and the Paris Nuncio on the one hand, and on the other between the Comte de Vergennes and the French Minister in the United States could have come to his knowledge. Even though he had not perused the documents which have since come to light from Roman and French archives, Campbell shows a perfect understanding of the complex factors of the negotiation, of the legitimate interests of the remaining American Jesuits who bent all their energies on restoring the Society which had been suppressed only a decade before, and of the hesitations of the American Catholics in accepting an ecclesiastical superior who might offend the susceptibilities of Congress over any sign of foreign meddling. Though they entertained an intense loyalty to the Pope as a spiritual leader and to a Roman Congregation embodying his authority, American Catholics could not forget that the Pope was also a temporal ruler, and they dreaded "foreign meddling" even from him and above all from Propaganda. "However well intended by the Holy See," the author writes (*l. c.,* pp.

374-375), "the proposition to appoint a bishop was not favorably received by the clergy of Maryland, who having obtained the first information of it through the proceedings in Congress were not prepared to appreciate the liberal views and enlightened policy of the Pope. . . . It was apprehended by some that a Vicar Apostolic would be too much under the control of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide.*"

Campbell shows a keen psychological acumen in defining the grounds of the opposition to the Roman project of the English Jesuits, and particularly of Charles Plowden, the life-long friend and faithful correspondent of John Carroll. He writes (*l. c.*, p. 375):

> The negotiations for appointing a Vicar Apostolic having been carried on in France [*between the nuncio acting under the instructions of the Propaganda and Franklin*] caused the measure to be regarded with suspicion by the English Jesuits, who, notwithstanding the harsh treatment received at home, always testified their loyalty by remaining staunch Englishmen in all other countries, even in their national and hereditary opposition to French politics.

We might appropriate his final judgment:

> That their fears were groundless and their suspicions of improper influence in the affairs of the American Church unjust will appear conclusively from the frank and liberal conduct of the Holy See in its first measures as well as from the deference uniformly paid to the sentiments of the American Government and people and to the wishes of the clergy as soon as they were understood.

As for France, he writes (*l. c.*, p. 370) in appreciative terms of the blessings of the American alliance, of the examples given by the officers of the French army and navy, and of the religious activity of the French chaplains:

> The alliance with France, however, and the aid of her Catholic armies to the cause of American Independence, dissipated some of the mists of prejudice, and when the French fleet approached Rhode Island the laws against Catholics were repealed. When those who had been so far the dupes of misrepresentation and intolerance, as to believe that Catholics were as ignorant and debased as their calumniators had represented them to be, beheld the accomplished and respectable officers of the French army and navy, and the gallant Kosciusko, Pulaski, etc. piously engaged in the most solemn exercises of the Catholic religion, they learned to respect what they had before scoffed at. The French regiments and ships were accompanied by priests and chaplains, and in the march through the country, Catholic worship was frequently performed in the meeting houses of other Christian denominations.

II. JOHN GILMARY SHEA

In preparing his *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, John Gilmary Shea was better documented than his predecessor. A few years before, George Bancroft had published in the Appendix of volume one of his *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America*, a large selection of the French diplomatic correspondence of that period and particularly the two letters of Barbé de Marbois which deal with the problem of the reorganization of the Catholic missions in the United States. Moreover, Shea had undertaken the task of copying both in Paris and in Rome the documents pertaining to the early history of the Church in America. He translated and used many of these Propaganda Transcripts, which are now preserved in the Georgetown University Archives. However, if the gathering of material is of prime importance, of no less importance is the dispassionate and objective interpretation of the documents. In his foreword to the "Documents relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the conditions of National Independence, 1783-1784," Carl Russell Fish refers to John Gilmary Shea in the following terms: "Dr. Shea seems to exaggerate the maliciousness of the French government, not entirely escaping that animus which influences nearly all writing on the subject, on whichever side." (*American Historical Review*, July, 1910, p. 801, n.)

It would be an interesting problem of psychology to attempt to determine the reasons which led John Gilmary Shea to depart from the position taken by B. U. Campbell and to denounce as a scheme (*l. c.* pp. 212, 215, 220), an intrigue (pp. 213, 217, 219, 215), and a conspiracy (p. 215), a negotiation which had been viewed by the earlier historian as perfectly honorable. Should we recall his novitiate in the Society of Jesus to explain his ardor in exculpating all the old Maryland Jesuits from any suspicion of the least lack of sympathy for the cause of the American Revolution and of the least opposition to the plans of the Holy See for the religious reconstruction of North America after six long years of war and turmoil? Is there more than a coincidence between the tone he takes against France and French statesmen and ecclesiastics (pp. 215, 219, 220, 266) and the anti-Jesuit policy of the French government in the years preceding the publication of his biography of John Carroll? Or was he roused by Bancroft's denunciation (*op. cit.*, p. 225) of the "rancor of the Jesuits" and by the same author's conception of the rôle of Franklin? Here are the words of Bancroft:

> The rancor of the Jesuits against the house of Bourbon for exiling them from France and Spain was relentless. The Roman Catholic clergy in the insurgent British colonies had been superintended by a person who resided in London, and during the war they were directed by Jesuits who favored the British. The influence which in South America led to most disastrous re-

sults for Spain were of little consequence in the United States. It was Franklin's desire to do away with the influence unfriendly to France. The Roman See proceeded with caution and a letter from its Nuncio in Paris, on the appointment of a Bishop in the United States was communicated to Congress. In May 1786 (*sic*) they, in reply, expressed a readiness to testify respect to the Sovereign and to the States represented by the Nuncio, but, disavowing jurisdiction over a purely spiritual subject, referred him to the several states individually.

Whatever may have been the source of that animus, it colored the view taken of the whole negotiation by our historian. First he denounces the "scheme" formed apparently in the French embassy at Philadelphia to impose on American Catholics a French bishop residing in Europe. "What a scheme," he comments in a footnote (p. 218) "for the enslavement of Catholics in this country." Then (p. 219, n.) he designates Barbé de Marbois as the author of the scheme: "It seems to me from a study of the whole matter that it was simply a petty intrigue of Barbé-Marbois to effect the nomination of some French priest to the projected vicariate."

To enable the reader to decide by himself the justice of this charge, we shall first place under his eyes the passage in which Shea claims to produce what he considers the evidence of the French "conspiracy," and give side by side the French text and Bancroft's translation of Barbé de Marbois' letter. Gilmary Shea quotes Franklin's letter to Comte de Vergennes (December 15, 1783), in which the American minister urges the French statesman to agree to the appointment of a French bishop, and then (p. 215) he comments:

> But for this positive evidence we could scarcely believe that Dr. Franklin lent himself to a plan for treating his Catholic countrymen in this manner and helping a conspiracy to subject them not to a superior chosen from among them, but to one nominated by the French Court and residing in France. . . . A letter of Barbé Marbois, French minister to the United States, indicates that the whole scheme originated with him; it represents the Catholics in America as having been directed by the Jesuits who favored the British, and speaks of the rancor of the Jesuits against the House of Bourbons.

He adds in a footnote:

> This is Bancroft's rendering of Marbois who wrote: 'The Catholics always directed by the Jesuits in this country, have been ill-disposed to the Revolution; they are not better disposed towards us.' 'La Révolution' does not mean the American Revolution at all, but the Voltairean ideas of the day, and he makes it mean 'favored the British' shows . . . [*Sentence incomplete*]. It is inconceivable how Mr. Bancroft could have adopted this silly and mendacious nonsense for history and used it to malign his own countrymen.

Barbé de Marbois' letter to Vergennes, dated Philadelphia, August 15, 1784, now follows:

(Signed: received by M. de R[*ayneval*]
le 24 7bre.)

Monseigneur,

J'ai reçu la Depêche No. 2 que vous avés écrite à Mr. le Chever de la Luzerne. Elle m'a été remise par Mr. le Marquis de la Fayette au moment ou je sortois d'une fièvre aigue asses commune dans ce pais-ci, mais qui m'a attaqué pour la première fois depuis cinq ans que j'y réside, elle m'a empêché pendant plus de dix jours de m'occuper d'affaires et m'a laissé une faiblesse extrême.

Je feray part au Congrès, Monseigneur, au mois de Novembre prochain de la permission que Sa Majesté veut bien accorder aux navires des Etats-Unis de relacher à l'Isle de France. Cette faveur que j'ai annoncée d'avance aux commerçans leur est très importante, et elle attirera probablement vers nos Isles une partie de ce commerce qui commençoit a se diriger ver le Cap de Bonne espérance.

120 242 152 1053 258 246 902 181 918

[*The cipher begins here and continues to the end of the letter*]

Les Catholiques toujours dirigès par les Jésuites dans ce pais-ci, Msgr, ont été en général mal disposés pour la révolution. Ils ne le sont pas mieux pour nous, mais plusieurs particuliers considérables n'ont pas les mêmes préjugés. M. Carroll l'un d'eux le plus grand capitaliste et le plus grand Fermier du Maryland m'a souvent parlé du désir que toute la congrégation avoit d'être dirigée par un evêque ou un vicaire apostolique; c'est un homme pieux, discret et prudent qui sent la nécessité de réunir sous un chef les individus épars de notre religion dans le Maryland et la Pennsylvanie; mais il prévoit de grandes difficultés soit à cause de leur dispersion; soit parce qu'il n'y a jamais eû de correspondance régulière entre les Catholiques des deux Etats. Si nous prenons quelque part à cette affaire ce doit être avec beaucoup de réserve; et je crois surtout que nous ne devons pas songer à faire tomber le choix sur un prêtre françois. Ceux de ce pais-ci lui feroient éprouver toute sorte de difficultés, et quelque respectable que fût son caractère et sa conduite, il auroit peu d'apparence de succès dans ses travaux apostoliques. J'adresse à Mr. Caroll la lettre de Msgr le Nonce pour le plus ancien missionnaire et j'ai l'honneur de vous adresser copie de celle que je lui écris en même temps. Ce Prélat fait mention dans sa lettre à Mr le Chever de la Luzerne de M. l'abbé Carroll, l'un des parents de celui dont je viens d'avoir l'honneur de vous parler. ce Prêtre que je ne connais personnellement, jouit d'une bonne réputation et je crois qu'il seroit à désirer que le chef des Eglises de Pensylvanie et du Maryland pût concourir avec les intentions de sa Sté pour l'élever au siège épiscopal.

Je suis, *etc.*

De marbois

Msgr le Comte de Vergennes

Affaires Etrangères
Correspondance Politique
Etats-Unis, Vol. 28, fos 140-143.
Doysié Transcript
Mss Division, Library of Congress

Bancroft's translation (*op. cit.*, 378-379), is as follows:

. . . The Catholics, always directed by the Jesuits in this country, have been ill-disposed to the revolution; they are not much better disposed toward us. But several persons of consideration have not the same prejudices. One of them, Mr. Carroll, the largest capitalist and richest landholder in Maryland, has often spoken to me of the desire of the whole congregation to be directed by a bishop or apostolic vicar. He is a pious, wise, and prudent man who feels the necessity of uniting under one chief the individuals of our religion scattered through Maryland and Pennsylvania; but he foresees great difficulties on account of their dispersion, and because there has never been a particular and regular correspondence between the Catholics of the two states. If we take any part in this matter it ought to be with a great deal of reserve; and I, above all things, believe that we ought not to think of making the choice fall upon a French priest. The people of this country would cause him all sorts of difficulties, and, respectable as might be his character and his conduct, there would be little probability of success in his apostolic labors. I am sending to Mr. Carroll the letter of the nuncio for the oldest missionary, and I have the honor to address to you a copy of that which I wrote to him at the same time. This prelate makes mention in his letter to M. de la Luzerne of the Abbe Carroll, one of the relations of him of whom I spoke to you. This priest, whose personal acquaintance I do not possess, enjoys a good reputation; and I believe that it would be desirable that the chief of the churches of Pennsylvania and Maryland should concur with the intention of his Holiness to raise him to the episcopal see.

This letter of Barbé Marbois and the use Gilmary Shea makes of it deserve the closest examination, for it is the only positive evidence our author adduces in support of his imputation. The reader will notice that even if the original were not before him, the part which has been translated by Bancroft gave him the greatest portion of it and that portion which has a real import. Gilmary Shea quotes from that translation, discusses it, and no critic therefore could plead ignorance on his part of this capital document. The reader will notice also that Shea quotes only one sentence of the letter, omitting three points of the utmost importance in that document: (a), the tribute paid to Charles Carroll; (b), the adverse opinion regarding the advisability of appointing a French bishop; and (c), the recommendation of John Carroll for that position. We are at a loss to discover the reason of these strange omissions, unless it was that our author was so riled by Barbé de Marbois' aspersions on American Catholics and particularly on the Jesuits that he failed to grasp the intent of the letter.

Let us look more closely at Shea's presentation of his case against Barbé de Marbois. In the first place, our author assumes that Barbé de Marbois was a partisan of the French Revolution. Actually François Barbé, Marquis de Marbois (b. at Metz, January 31, 1745; d. February

12, 1837) was anything but a revolutionist. After having been consul general in the United States, and Chargé d'Affaires after the departure of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, June, 1784, he became "Intendant" for San Domingo and returned to France in 1789. Having been elected to the "Conseil des Anciens" in 1796, he was accused of opposition to the regime, was arrested and deported (1797-1799). He held financial offices under Napoleon, and after the Bourbon Restoration became Minister of Justice (1815-1816). In the second place, Shea does not seem to have a correct idea of the real position of the French representative. He calls him "French Minister to the United States." That position was held, up to June, 1784, the very month of Carroll's appointment, by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and it was at that time only that Barbé de Marbois, who had been French Consul, became Chargé d'Affaires. It was in the latter capacity that Marbois received the communications sent by the Nuncio to the French minister to the United States, May 12, 1784, that he transmitted to Charles Carroll the letter directed by the Nuncio "to the oldest American missionary," and to John Carroll, shortly after, the decree appointing him Prefect-Apostolic. Of the two letters he wrote to Comte de Vergennes, the first, dated August 15, 1784, is the one upon which Shea bases his charge; the second, dated March 27, 1785, contains the report and recommendations which had been asked from the French minister by the Paris Nuncio on May 12, 1784; this will be given later.

A priori the probability of Barbé de Marbois' meddling in the business of the reorganization of the Church in the liberated Colonies is of the slightest. It is not the custom of career diplomats to consult with consular agents regarding political business. Moreover the documents we have at hand do not permit us to think that the first intimation of the project of appointing a French bishop came to the French minister before the arrival of the letter of May 12, 1784, when the matter had already been settled in Rome by the appointment of John Carroll. The only reference we find before that time in la Luzerne's correspondence is from January 31, 1784, and deals with the Nuncio's note to Franklin which had been transmitted to Congress. But it is enough to read Barbé de Marbois' whole letter of August 15, 1784, to see what would have been his attitude had he been given an opportunity to play a leading part in the matter. For as we have already stated, the very document from which Shea extracts the few lines he finds so incriminating is otherwise entirely devoted to discourage the plan of appointing a French bishop and ends with the recommendation that John Carroll himself be chosen as the ecclesiastical superior of the American missions.

But John Gilmary Shea interprets falsely even the words he quotes. Barbé de Marbois had written: "The Catholics always directed by the Jesuits in this country have been ill-disposed to the Revolution; they are

not better disposed towards us." An unprejudiced reader would not hesitate to understand the *Revolution* of which Barbé de Marbois writes in 1784, as being the American Revolution which had just ended, and the words "towards us" as referring not to the House of Bourbon, but to France and to the French. Not so Shea who must at all cost vindicate the loyalty of all and every American Catholic, priest and layman, in the cause of American independence. "Revolution" for him therefore will mean the "Voltairean ideas of the day," a perfect anachronism. Who ever dreamt of the upheaval of 1789 in 1784, when France was at peace and recovering her former prestige? Nineteenth century writers searching the deep causes of that political upheaval may have found them in the "Voltairean ideas," but no Frenchman, and above all no official, writing a diplomatic letter, could have thought of using the term "Revolution" to designate current philosophical ideas. Nor is the "towards us" more intelligently taken to mean "the House of Bourbon." The King alone, not his minister, nor a mere Chargé d'Affaires, could have identified himself with the Royal House.

But this is not the worst. Shea is not satisfied with leaving his readers under the impression that Barbé de Marbois has misrepresented the attitude of the American Catholics towards the Revolution, he accuses him of "impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen." He writes (p. 218):

> Franklin . . . must have felt not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics, priests and laymen.

There is no doubt that Barbé de Marbois expressed his persuasion regarding the attitude of the majority of them. He was right or he was wrong; in what measure we are unable to determine, but of one thing he can not be accused, and that is of "having impeached the loyalty of the Carrolls," for the whole letter from which Shea quotes one sentence is a glowing tribute to the patriotic loyalty of that family, which is, he informs his minister, a conspicuous exception to the attitude he had found among others. So much so that he chooses Charles Carroll to deliver to him the letter he was to transmit to "the oldest American missionary." Moreover, he expresses the hope that "the Abbé Carroll" may be chosen as the ecclesiastical superior of the American missions.

Had Barbé de Marbois ever entertained the idea of seeing a French bishop appointed to rule over the young American Church? Did he, as Shea believes without hesitation, originate the plan which was to be examined in Paris and in Rome and given up only in the face of the opposition of American Catholics? If the letter we have already quoted has not yet convinced our readers of the injustice of the charge, we beg to call

their attention to another letter written by Barbé de Marbois to the Comte de Vergennes. The fact that it was written March 27, 1785, long after the *fait accompli* of Carroll's appointment as Prefect and of his promised bishopric, might make one think that it cannot affect the question of the negotiations which had been concluded the year before. However, we ought to remember that it is the official reply of the French Chargé d'Affaires to the consultation which had been asked from his predecessor, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, on May 12, 1784, by the Nuncio in the name of the Prefect of Propaganda on the very issue of the establishment of an American Hierarchy; and we have no reason to believe that in a letter, which was written in code and which was confidential, Barbé de Marbois expressed any but his own real view of the situation.

à Philadelphie le 27 mars 1785

Monseigneur,

Le paquet ci-joint pour Mr. le Prince Doria Pamphili, m'a été adressé et particulièrement recommandé par Mr. Caroll, supérieur général des missions.

Le St. Siège ne pouvoit faire un choix plus agréable aux Catholiques des Etats-Unis; et si les circonstances permettent de l'élever à l'épiscopat je ne doute pas qu'ils n'en ayent une satisfaction générale. Mais tous les Catholiques dont le zèle est modéré par la prudence, désirent que cette mesure ne soit prise qu'après que les peuples y auront été suffisamment préparés; rien ne seroit plus facile à des mal-intentionés, que de repandre l'allarme touchan l'autorité spirituelle ou temporelle du pape. Quelques Catholiques ont siégé dans le Congrès et plusieurs membres de l'assemblée du Maryland professent également notre religion; mais ce n'est que dans la supposition qu'ils ne sont pas dans la dépendance d'aucune puissance étrangère. les articles de la confédération portent même qu'il ne sera jamais permis à aucun des officiers des Etats-Unis de recevoir des dons, titres ou emplois de quelque espèce qu'ils soient, d'un Roi, prince, ou d'une puissance étrangère. la jalousie républicaine appliqueroit infailliblement cette prohibition même aux offices ecclésiastiques; et à moins d'une adresse dans le maniement de cette affaire, la religion perdroit plus qu'elle ne gagneroit à la nomination d'un evêque. Ainsi le St. Siège est sûr d'en étendre les progrès en relâchant sa juridiction autant que le bien de la foi peut le permettre; et une pratique différente ne manqueroit pas d'en arrêter la propagation et d'augmenter les autres sectes auxquelles les honneurs et l'autorité civile seroient dévolus à l'exclusion des Catholiques; au reste, les anglicans eux-mêmes prépareront le peuple à l'introduction de l'épiscopat; ils n'ont jamais voulu recevoir d'evêque avant la revolution; mais aujourd'hui ils sentent tous les inconvéniens d'ordonner leur ministres en Angleterre, les lois leur accordent le libre exercice de leur religion et par conséquent tout ce qui est nécessaire à ce libre exercice; ils en concluent qu'ils ont le droit d'avoir des évêques, et ils en auront probablement bientôt. Alors, Monseigneur, il paroîtroit odieux de refuser le même avantage aux Catholiques. Mais jusque là je crois qu'il est de l'avantage

même de la religion de ne rien précipiter. Sa sainteté pourroit neanmoins nommer probablement un vicaire apostolique et quand les circonstances seroient entièrement favorables, l'elever à l'épiscopat. Je ne puis dire si le choix doit émaner purement et simplement du St. Père ou si les églises des différens états doivent proposer un sujet; cette dernière forme est sans doute la plus analogue a l'esprit de ces peuples-ci; mais les Catholiques n'y sont pas réunis sous un chef commun: ceux d'un état n'ont aucune relation avec ceux d'un autre; et je ne vois nullement comment on pourroit parvenir à une élection. C'est un motif de plus pour élever par degrés à l'épiscopat un sujet qui soit depuis quelque tems connu comme ce chef, et dont la nomination n'étonne personne. Ce premier choix une fois fait, il sera moins difficile d'organiser notre église que dans l'etat actuel.

Le nombre des Catholiques dans les Etats-Unis mérite en effet l'attention que le St. Siège leur donne. Il y a dans les Etats de la

Nouvelle-Angelterre environ.....	600
New-York et N. Jersy.....	1700
Pennsylvania et Delaware.....	7700
en Maryland: hommes libres.....	12000
: esclaves	8000
dans les etats du Sud à peu près.....	2500
aux Illinois a Kaskaskia sur le Mississipi.....	12000
	44500

Les Catholiques de New-York n'avoient pour Prêtre qu'un Irlandois aumonier des Vaisseaux de Sa Majesté qui n'a point la permission d'être absent de son couvent et qui en a supposé une que j'ai reconnue fausse. Il a cependant obtenu des pouvoirs de Mr. Carroll qui n'est pas informé de ces circonstances. Au reste l'établissement de la chapelle de la légation à New-York donne aux Catholiques de cette ville toutes les ressources spirituelles qu'ils ont pu désirer.

Je suis *etc.*

De Marbois

Affaires Etrangères, Etats-Unis
Vol. 29 ff. 123-125
Doysié transcripts,
Mss. Div. Library of Congress

The following translation is taken from Bancroft (*op. cit.*, p. 420):

The enclosed packet for the prince Doria Pamphili, has been adressed to me, and particularly recommended by Mr. Carroll, the superior of the Missions. The holy see could not make a choice more agreeable to Catholics of the United States; and if circumstances permit his elevation to the episcopacy, I doubt not the general satisfaction. But all Catholics whose zeal is moderated by prudence desire that this measure should not be taken until the people shall have been sufficiently prepared for it. Nothing would be more easy for the ill-disposed than to spread an alarm touching the spiritual and temporal authority of the pope. Catholics have had seats in congress, and

several members of the assembly of Maryland in like manner profess our religion; but it is only on the supposition that they are not dependent on any foreign power. The articles of the confederation do not permit any one of the officers of the United States to receive gifts, titles, or employments of any kind whatever from a king, prince, or foreign power. Republican jealousy would infallibly apply this prohibition to ecclesiastical offices; and without particular address in the management of this affair, religion would lose more than it would gain by the nomination of a bishop. Thus the holy see is sure to make greater progress by relaxing its jurisdiction as much as the good of the faith can permit; and a different practice would not fail to stop its [own] propagation and to augment the other sects on which the civil honors and authorities would devolve to the exclusion of the Catholics. The Anglicans themselves will prepare the people for the introduction of the episcopate. They have never wished to receive a bishop before the revolution; but today they feel the difficulty of having their ministers ordained in England. The laws accord them the free exercise of their religion, and consequently everything which is necessary to this free exercise. They infer from it they have the right to have bishops; and they probably will soon have them. Then, my lord, it would appear odious to refuse the same advantage to the Catholics; but till then, I believe it is for the advantage of religion not to precipitate anything. His Holiness could nevertheless nominate probably an apostolic vicar; and, when circumstances should be entirely favorable, raise him to the episcopacy. I cannot say if the choice ought to emanate purely and simply from the holy father, or if the churches of the different states ought to propose a candidate. This last form is undoubtedly the most analogous to the spirit of these people. But the Catholics are not here united under a common chief; those of one state have not any relation with those of another, and I do not see how they could bring about an election. It is one motive the more to raise by degrees to the episcopacy a person who has been for some time known as the chief, and whose nomination, therefore, would astonish no one. The first choice once made it will be less difficult to organize our Church than in its actual condition.

The number of Catholics in the United States merits, in fact, the attention the holy see gives to it. There are in the states of New England about 600; of New York and New Jersey 1700; of Pennsylvania and Delaware, 7,700; of Maryland, freemen 12,000, slaves, 8,000—20,000; in the states of the South, 2,500; at the Illinois, Kaskaskia, and several other establishments purely French, on the Mississippi, 12,000; total, 44,500.

The Catholics of New York had no priest, but an Irish chaplain for the ships of his Majesty, who has no permission to be absent from his convent. He has made a suppositious one which I have recognized to be false; yet he has obtained faculties from Mr. Carroll, who is not informed of these circumstances. For the rest, the establishment of the chapel of the legation of New York gives to the Catholics of this city all the spiritual resources that they can desire.[1]

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[1] We have corrected several inaccuracies in Bancroft's translation; for

The reader will decide whether the author of this remarkable document was a schemer or a sane and honorable gentleman, who had, indeed, at heart the interest of his country but also the interest of the Church and of the new Republic. He ought to be absolved of the charge laid against him with out any ground by John Gilmary Shea.

III. PETER GUILDAY

When Doctor Guilday of the Catholic University undertook to revise and bring up to date the monumental work of John Gilmary Shea, he was in possession of practically all the available documents. He had access to Shea's own Propaganda Transcripts; Carl Russell Fish had published in the original Italian, French and Latin the "Documents relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the conditions of National Independence, 1783-1784" (*American Historical Review,* July, 1910, pp. 801-829), and these documents had appeared, a few months after, in an English translation by Rev. E. I. Devitt, S. J., in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (Vol. XXI, pp. 185-236). That same year, 1910, had seen the publication by Rev. Thomas Hughes, S. J., of his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America Colonial and Federal,* Documents, Vol. I, part II. The learned professor, who had been trained in the best methods of historical research in the University of Louvain, had himself carried on a diligent search of the archives of America, England, Rome and Paris. The only document that seems to have escaped him and that we can add to the dossier of the affair is an "Observation sur la lettre de M. franklin à M. le Comte de Vergennes en datte du 15 xbre 1783, par M. l'Evêque d'Autun," dated January 4, 1784.

Dr. Guilday's manner of dealing with the problem which occupies us shows on his part an earnest attempt at fairness and objectivity. He indeed confesses (p. 179) that "it is hard to enter upon the story of the effort made in France at this time (1783-1784) to give an organized hierarchy to the Church in the new Republic without considerable suspicion of all concerned." But his whole interpretation of the negotiations is based upon mature consideration of the evidences of the case.

Unlike Gilmary Shea, who seems rather bent on belittling the real Catholicity of France and of her government of that period and who views the French Court as a place "where a pretended philosophy was sapping all religious faith," Dr. Guilday recognizes that, at that time, France was "a

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instance: "prepare the people" instead of "prepare the bill" for the introduction of the episcopate; nominate; "probably" for "in advance"; "they could bring about an election" for "they could have one or an election."

great Catholic country," and King Louis XVI "a most Christian King in more than name." He does justice to the character of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Comte de Vergennes, and to the French representative in the United States, Chevalier de la Luzerne. His aspersions on the "notorious" Talleyrand and his readiness to incriminate Barbé de Marbois are probably the natural reaction of his recollection of the part played by the former during the French Revolution. Our author shows no little courage in obeying the precept laid to the Catholic historian by Leo XIII, "Ne quid veri non audeat," when he produces documents which reveal in the Catholics of the Colonies, clerics and laymen, a diffidence towards Rome and particularly towards the Congregation of the Propaganda, which might shock those who lack a thorough acquaintance with real conditions in Rome and in America at the end of the eighteenth century. He rightly traces the Jesuits' attitude to the weakness with which Rome had yielded to political pressure in 1773 in the suppression of the Society of Jesus. "Their confidence in Rome had received a body-blow but ten years before and they had no special reason to encourage the establishment of a 'foreign power,' such as the Congregation de Propaganda Fide was considered to be, over the American Church" (p. 168). To mention only one more important point, Dr. Guilday corrects (p. 185), Gilmary Shea's false attribution to a French source of the Note of Franklin to the Nuncio, which contains the suggestion of "the choice that the Court of Rome in concert with the minister of the United States may make of a French Ecclesiastic who, residing in France, may regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics . . . in America."

Nevertheless on the essential point of the rôle of France in the negotiation Dr. Guilday follows Gilmary Shea. He devotes a whole chapter of his book (Ch. XIII) to the account of the "French Ecclesiastical Interference in the American Church"; and having adopted Shea's thesis, he adopts also Shea's characterization of the whole negotiation. It is a "scheme" (pp. 187, 195, 199), an "intrigue" (pp. 173, 175, 177, 188, 189, 199, 212, 230, 240, 241). The terms "conspiracy" and "enslavement" are brought only in quotations from Shea (pp. 177, 194). There is no doubt in our author's mind that a scheme or intrigue was concocted, though he does not seem quite certain regarding the identity of its author. At times he refrains from naming that person (pp. 187, 241); at other times he ascribes the intrigue to some French source (pp. 142, 173, 175, 177, 192, 212, 241); he points an accusative finger at Barbé de Marbois (p. 240); but again he lays the responsibility to the Nuncio (p. 189), and to Cardinal Antonelli (p. 239).

For the sake of brevity and clarity, we shall first state as faithfully as we can, Dr. Guilday's reading of the facts and what we think is the true version of these facts; we shall then proceed to the examination of the

grounds upon which the American historian bases his contention, answering his arguments one by one.

Dr. Guilday's thesis is as follows: When the instructions of the Prefect of the Propaganda to the Paris Nuncio towards the reorganization of the Church in America at the end of the Revolution were brought to the attention of the French government, somebody conceived the plan of using this opportunity to establish more firmly France's influence in the United States, and Franklin was persuaded to lend his support to that plan. "France," writes Dr. Guilday (p. 182), "had been forced to give up so much for the hard-won independence of the new Republic that it is not surprising to find Franklin willing, probably anxious, partially to recompense France by allowing the French Government to have control over the Church in the United States." The object would be attained in two ways: first, a French ecclesiastic, residing in France, would "regulate the spiritual affairs of the Catholics who live, or who may come to establish themselves, in those States, through a suffragan residing in America." The suffragan might preferably be an American; but, if no native were available, he would be chosen from among the citizens of a friendly nation, *i. e.* France. The second way would be the establishment of "an American Seminary . . . in one of the sea-coast towns of France" (p. 188) for the education of American seminarians, which would be supported (in Franklin's mind) either by the revenues of the English monastic establishments in France which were to be confiscated for that purpose, or (in the mind of the Nuncio seconded by the French minister and the Bishop of Autun) by the liberality of the French King. This intrigue which was made known to the American Jesuits through their former English associates was foiled by the move of the American Jesuits petitioning the Holy See for the appointment of one of their own as ecclesiastical superior, and the designation of John Carroll as Prefect Apostolic.

Our reconstruction of the negotiation is very different. For us, at no stage of the negotiation did French authorities take the initiative or make suggestions that would justify historians in denouncing their interference in American Church affairs, and *a fortiori* their scheme for the enslavement of American Catholics. The part they played in the negotiation was entirely one of generous cooperation with the plans of Rome in a spirit of friendliness to their allies and to their fellow-Catholics in the United States. It was the Prefect of Propaganda Fide who, anticipating the lack of American clergymen qualified for the episcopate, suggested in his first Instruction the possibility of having recourse to a French ecclesiastic. It was upon his instructions reiterated again and again, that the Nuncio pleaded with the French minister and with the Bishop of Autun for the admission of American seminarians in a French institution, and for the

establishment of a fund for their support. It was Franklin who submitted to the Nuncio the project of a French ecclesiastic residing in France, and charged with the regulation of the spiritual affairs of America, and who, in his anxiety to secure the unity of the American government by breaking the bonds between American and English Catholics and "by taking from the British ministry all influence over the subjects of the United States," begged the Comte de Vergennes to agree to the appointment of a bishop "who is of this Nation and who may reside here among our Friends" (Letter to Vergennes, December 15, 1783). When he was called upon to express his opinion upon this request of Franklin, the Bishop of Autun advised caution, the Nuncio having already claimed for the representative of the Holy See the privilege of exercising supervision over the American Church, and Barbé de Marbois advised even against the appointment of a French bishop in America. Rather little attention was given to that part of the project, and the main effort of the Nuncio in his dealings with the French authorities went to the finding of means for the support of the seminarians who should be brought to France for their education. The French response to this effort was prompt and generous. Hence we are compelled to regard the French part in the negotiation, not as one of interference or intrigue, but as one of loyal cooperation, which might, no doubt, redound to the benefit of France, but which was not inspired by mean political motives.

Only a reading of all the documents can bring out in its full force the correctness of our interpretation of the facts. Here we must content ourselves with examining the main arguments upon which our esteemed friend seems to have based his thesis.

When we look for these arguments, we do not find them explicitly stated in any part of Dr. Guilday's story of the negotiation and the reason is obvious. His method of writing is the postitive method, and his thesis, which is that of Gilmary Shea, had not been contested since the publication by the latter of his *Life of Archbishop Carroll*. It had all the appearances of an established historical truth. Dr. Guilday himself had published in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (July, 1920) his chapter on "French Ecclesiastical Interference in the American Church," without raising any question as to the correctness of his views. He could therefore assume that he had given the true version of the negotiations.

On reading Dr. Guilday's account more closely, however, we think we are justified in tracing his conviction to four main sources which it is now our duty to appreciate.

The first is the authority of John Gilmary Shea. It is from Shea that Dr. Guilday borrows his estimate of the rôle of Barbé de Marbois. He quotes Shea when the latter denounces the "conspiracy to subject [*American Catholics*] not to a Superior chosen from among themselves,

but to one nominated by the French Court and residing in France" (p. 194), and when Shea describes Franklin as bound to feel "not a little chagrined to find himself made even indirectly the medium of impeaching the loyalty of the Carrolls and other patriotic American Catholics" (p. 199). But we have seen in the preceding section how manifestly wrong Gilmary Shea was in his estimate of Barbé de Marbois and we are assured that Dr. Guilday feels that we have proven our case in favor of the French Chargé d'Affaires.

The second source of Dr. Guilday's conviction seems to have been the authority of Father Charles Plowden, the English Jesuit. He writes (p. 189): "We know that the French vicar-apostolic project was first made known to Carroll through former English associates." There exists indeed a letter of Charles Plowden to Carroll, under date of September 2 (Campbell) or 21 (Guilday), 1784, in which the English Jesuit speaks of the note delivered to the Nuncio as betraying "the policy of the French ministry ('the nation most friendly to congress'), who, by bringing forward a Frenchman or perhaps an Irish-Frenchman, would use religion as an instrument to increase their influence in America." These lines, by the way, are the only contemporary document that contains the charge which has been accepted by John Gilmary Shea and Dr. Guilday. Regarding these we shall make two remarks. First, the last lines of the letter ought to be read in connection with them, as they imply that Plowden looked beyond Paris to Rome itself. "The Romans," he writes, "have got scent of your promotion, and according to their custom have strangely distorted the whole business, even your name. They bring in the French king to figure in it, and talk of congress and your provincial assemblies as if they were so many *conseils souverains* in France." In the second place, we must take into account the fact that Plowden had no first-hand information of the nature of the negotiation, and that John Carroll does not seem to have allowed himself to be influenced by his friend's report of the French intrigue, since he continued to depend on the friendly cooperation of the French agents in the United States. Moreover, he knew quite well the Englishman's bias and could have answered that letter as he answered another one of the preceding year (September 26, 1783): "You have adopted the language of some of the prints on your side of the water, by representing us under imperious leaders, and the trammels of France . . . we certainly never have worn her chains, but have treated with her as equals and have experienced from her the greatest magnanimity and moderation . . ."

The third source to which we think we can trace our author's suspicion of French interference is Talleyrand's participation in the negotiation. What good could be expected from this notorious character? And yet, when we examine the part he played, we are unable to find real ground

for such suspicion. Talleyrand was brought into the affair for two reasons. The first was that, as Minister of Ecclesiastical Benefices, it was to him that the Comte de Vergennes referred the Nuncio when the latter begged the minister to help to provide both an institution for the education of American seminarians and a fund for their support. To that object he gave an unstinted cooperation. The next was that the Comte de Vergennes submitted to him Franklin's request for the appointment of a French bishop for the United States. We have been fortunate enough to come in possession of his "Observations," and we are glad to place them under the eyes of the reader. He will judge whether the Bishop of Autun speaks as one who has played a leading part in a plan to place the nascent American Church under French control.

Le 4 janvier 1784
par M. l'Eveque
d'Autun
M. de R.[1]

Observation sur la lettre de M. franklin à M. Le Comte de Vergennes en datte du 15 Xbre 1783

L'unique objet de M. franklin, est de parer à l'inconvénient politique, qui resulte de la résidence à londres, de l'Eveque ou superieur Ecclesiastique des catholiques romains des Etats unis de l'Amérique. Il demande un sujet françois qui residat sur les lieux, et qui n'eut aucun rapport avec la cour de londres.

M. le Nonce voudroit que la bonté du roi le portat à faire l'etablissement Religieux d'une mission en faveur des mêmes catholiques, et pour cela, qu'on elevat en france les sujets destinés à former et soutenir ces etablissemens.

Selon ce plan, il faudroit vingt enfants de differents ages, qu'on eleveroit comme autrefois les enfants de langues, savoir douze dans un college et huit dans un séminaire. leur Education dureroit jusqu'à vingt quatre ans, et couterait à l'état 20 000^{++} par an, à raison de 1 000^{++} par chaque sujet, tous les ans il y auroit deux de ces élèves dont l'Education finiroit et qu'on pourroit faire partir pour l'Amérique.

Il entreroit encore dans le plan de M. le Nonce que le roi accordat 12 000^{++} par an, pour la dotation d'un Eveque, ou du prefet apostolique, qui seroit établi supérieur en cette partie.

Il est vraisemblable que M. Le Nonce proposerait encore de soumettre cette nomination à la propagande.

Il est très important d'examiner le plan de M. le nonce, sous tous les Rapports et de l'adapter aux vues de M. franklin, avant que de prendre une resolution definitive.

TRANSLATION

January 4 1784
by M. L'Eveque d'Autun
M. de R[ayneval]

Observation upon the letter of Mr. Franklin to M. le Comte de Vergennes, under date of December 15, 1783.

The sole object of M. Franklin is to obviate the political inconvenience

[1] Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères. Etats-Unis. Vol. 27, p. 15.

which results from the residence in London of the Bishop or Ecclesiastical superior of the Roman Catholics of the United States of America. He asks for a French subject who would reside on the spot and who had no relation with the court of London.

The Nuncio wishes that the king's kindness might prompt him to make the religious establishment of a mission in favor of the same catholics, and to that effect, that the subjects destined for the maintenance of these establishments might be educated in France.

According to that plan, twenty boys of different ages would be needed, who would be educated as formerly the "enfants de langues," viz. twelve in a college and eight in a seminary. Their Education would last till they reach the age of twenty-four and would cost the state 20.000^{++} (livres) a year, at the rate of 1.000^{++} (livres) per head. every year two of these students would complete their education and could be sent to America.

It would also enter into the plan of the Nuncio that the king would grant 12.000^{++} (livres) a year for the endowment of a Bishop, or of the prefect apostolic to be appointed superior in those parts.

It is likely that the Nuncio would propose besides to submit this appointment to Propaganda.

It is very important to examine the plan of the Nuncio under every aspect and to adapt it to Mr. Franklin's views, before taking a final decision.

The last and perhaps the most compelling factor of Dr. Guilday's conviction that the Paris negotiations had the character of an intrigue is the secrecy in which they were conducted. The Doctor sees a connection between the Whitemarsh meeting of June 27, 1783, and the request we find at the end of the Nuncio's letter to the Prefect of September 1, 1783. He writes (pp. 188-189):

News of the proceedings of the June meeting had no doubt been reported to the Nuncio, for his letter of September 1, 1783, as has been seen above, contains a rather emphatic suggestion that silence on the whole plan should be kept: "On the other hand, Your Eminence will deign to inform neither the ecclesiastic just mentioned (the superior of the Mission in the United States) nor any one else, with the exception of the Holy Father, of my negotiations with the Count de Vergennes, and with Monseigneur the Bishop of Autun, since it is a question as yet, of mere project, of which it would not be well to speak before it be realized, or developed sufficiently not to be frustrated by anyone who may regard the proposed establishment unfavorably."

There is no doubt that if these lines are read by one who has already accepted the idea of an intrigue in which the Nuncio was implicated, such a recommendation of secrecy regarding the negotiation to which it refers will appear as a strong confirmation of the suspicion that the parties to that negotiation were really scheming and conscious that their scheme was

bound to meet with opposition. That inference, however, would not be legitimate, as the reader will admit, we trust, if he will consider the real object of that recommendation.

In the first place, it is extremely doubtful that hardly two months after the Whitemarsh meeting, news of its proceedings could have reached Paris. None of the official messages that we have been able to trace in that period crossed the ocean in such a short time, and we wonder through what channel the news could have reached the Nuncio so as to induce him to recommend secrecy. But what was the tenor of the Nuncio's letter, and what was the object of his negotiations with the French minister and the Bishop of Autun regarding which he advises secrecy? The letter is the first report of the Nuncio to the Prefect after his exchange of Notes with Franklin. Of the several suggestions made to him by Franklin he rejects that of appointing a French Bishop to regulate the spiritual affairs of American Catholics as well as that of confiscating the English Benedictine establishments in France. He retains only the project of entrusting to a French bishop the task of providing means for the training of missionaries for America, and this is the one suggestion of Franklin that he reports having discussed with the Comte de Vergennes and Talleyrand. Already the stress is laid upon the cooperation that France is expected to give in the matter of supporting American seminarians and missionaries.

Why, then, should secrecy be observed regarding a project which placed France in the honorable position of a benefactor? Discretion is quite natural at the first stage of negotiation. *It was as yet a mere project,* and the Nuncio did not wish to see jeopardized by untimely publicity the success of the plan for the training of future American missionaries, to which he and the Prefect attached such importance all through the negotiation. Discretion is imperative regarding the prelate in charge of the American mission, because this prelate is the Vicar-Apostolic of London. This prelate can hardly be expected to look favorably upon steps taken by the Holy See for the consummation, on ecclesiastical lines, of a break between the American colonies and Great Britain before the actual signing of the Treaty which was to recognize the independence of the United States, and this in conformity with the wishes expressed by the American minister, and with the cooperation of France.

The same discretion vis-à-vis the London prelate was observed a few months later by the Holy See, when it proceeded to the appointment of the American Prefect-Apostolic; for it contented itself with notifying Bishop Talbot of the cessation of his jurisdiction over the United States. It was observed likewise by the American clergy themselves, who did not think it necessary to seek the approbation of the Vicar-Apostolic from whom they had received their faculties, before they proceeded in their

own way to the reorganization of their missions along purely national lines. The discretion of which Dr. Guilday makes capital strikes us as quite natural, and not as an evidence of intrigue.

We have dealt with such grounds of Dr. Guilday's thesis as can be gathered from his presentation of the case in his *Life of John Carroll*. With his permission, we shall now examine some other grounds of his conviction to which he has not given expression in his writings. His difficulty with B. U. Campbell's account is "whether he makes the distinction between the attitude of the American priests toward the creation of a bishopric in the United States and the fact that the *pourparlers* in Paris might have resulted in their having a bishop (presumably a French ecclesiastic) over them, but living in France and training his future clergy in a French seminary. Did our priests know anything about the latter possibility by the time they knew officially that John Carroll had been made Prefect Apostolic?" Dr. Guilday doubts it.

We can settle this doubt only in part. We have no evidence that Franklin's project in its most objectionable form came to the knowledge of the American clergy, and we must remember that it had been at once rejected by the Nuncio. As to the project for the establishment of a seminary for American students, we have a letter from Fr. Thorpe to John Carroll. This letter was written August 31, 1785, but it seems to refer to the time of Carroll's appointment. We quote:

> The business of your nomination, and consequently of your consecration as bishop in ordinary, or as apostolic vicar depended upon letters that were expected from France (the report asked by the Nuncio from the French minister in his letter of May 12, 1784), when I was with Mr. Borgia, who also told me that His Christian majesty had graciously offered eight free places in the seminary of Bordeaux for North American Catholic youths, born subjects of the United States.

The letter is quoted by B. U. Campbell (*l. c.*, p. 802) and shows that he knew of the Paris negotiation. Moreover, the same writer had stated explicitly (*l. c.*, p. 378):

> Whilst the letters of the English Jesuits (denouncing the policy of the French ministry) had caused great anxiety among the clergy in this country, and apprehensions of some improper influence in their affairs, the holy see was actually engaged in carrying out the views of the American clergy, with a perfect deference to their expressed wishes; and the most affectionate interest for the promotion of religion in the new republic was manifested, both at Rome and by the nuncio at Paris.

To Dr. Guilday these are the factors in the case: 1) the French clergy's contribution to the American cause in 1780; 2) the lingering memories of

the ex-Jesuits all over the world at the ruthless method of suppressing their Society and confiscating their property sanctioned by the Sacred Congregation; 3) the wholly understandable determination on the part of the ex-Jesuits to see their Society restored; 4) the fears which lasted from 1756 to 1788 regarding the creation of a bishopric in Maryland, fears shared equally by the Anglican Church; 5) the intense American spirit of the times towards all persons and things foreign; 6) remembering the Propaganda of 1773-1774, the fear of the Maryland priests at an attempted sequestration of their property, if they had a bishop over them appointed by the Propaganda; 7) the fact that practically all the Maryland and Pennsylvania ex-Jesuits in 1783 were French trained (Saint-Omer's). In consequence of these facts, which every student must recognize as real factors, Dr. Guilday has always connected in his own view of the situation, though he has not written it, the action of the Assemblée du Clergeé of 1780, in which Talleyrand was a chief official, with what, if one will grant for the time being, looks on the surface as an attempt to set up ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the American Church in France. He does not say as a *quid pro quo*. There is not, so far as he knows, an iota of evidence to base this surmise upon, but the point is that the Assemblée knew exactly what it was voting so many millions for. The ecclesiastical leaders of France knew that the American missionaries owed their training to France. He feels that their interest in the nascent Church, after it became certain in 1782 that independence had been won, was not dead. He can not forget Gallipolis or the Sulpicians. But, granting that there is no connection between the two things: 1) the great share the French clergy took in France's financial support, without which there would never have been any independence (something just as clearly perceived then as now); and 2) the desire to "man" the American Church in that truly apostolic zeal which sent French priests throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to many parts of the world, particularly to New France, he has always seen a link between the two in that enigmatic ecclesiastic, Talleyrand.

As Dr. Guilday rightly concludes: "This is a mere surmise." All these motives *may* have influenced the Bishop of Autun and the other Frenchmen who took part in the negotiation; but we have no evidence that they *did*. We can only repeat here that the reading of all the available evidence has led us to the conclusion that at no stage of the negotiation did French officials take the initiative of proposing what might be called a French scheme, that their attitude all through those months was one of response, now prompt, now rather cautious, to the appeals presented to them either by the Papal Nuncio or by the American Minister, and that they ought to be absolved of the charge of intrigue or of undue interference. No doubt they played a part in the negotiation, but it was the

part that could be expected in the circumstances from a nation whose Catholic Faith disposed her to meet the desires of the supreme authority in the Church, and whose friendship for the sister nation she had helped in her struggle for independence made her ready to assume new burdens in her behalf.

We dare hope that John Gilmary Shea, had he lived to reconsider his indignant denunciation of the rôle of France in the establishment of the American Hierarchy, would have regretted charging her with having schemed "the enslavement of American Catholics," and we trust that Dr. Guilday, in a new edition of his *Life and Times of John Carroll*, will profoundly modify his chapter on "French Ecclesiastical Interference in the American Church."

JULES A. BAISNÉE.

BOOK REVIEWS

Has Science discovered God? A Symposium of Modern Scientific Opinion. Gathered and Edited by EDWARD H. COTTON. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1931. Pp. lviii, 308.)

Seventy-five years ago it might be said that in England and this country official Protestant belief and "scientific opinion" confronted each other as two conflicting dogmatisms. Not all the prevailing fundamentalism of that time was equally uncompromising about Usher's chronology, fixing the age of the universe within 5,000 years; and not all British and American "scientific opinion" was consistently materialistic; but the line-up was sharp enough for bitter conflict.

Usher's chronology, as a result, was overwhelmingly crushed by the weight of evidence in favor of the vastness of the universe and the almost unimaginable time-duration of natural processes. Before the scientific fundamentalism of Haeckel, Tyndall, and Herbert Spencer, conceiving the universe as a "fortuitous concourse of atoms" with time and space enough for pure chance to evolve fixed chemical properties and to produce and sustain organic life—before this fundamentalism could be dissolved by the results of later researches, large sections of influential Protestant opinion were converted to it, without giving up church-going or breaking up denominational ties.

Advanced "scientific opinion" had little reason to exult in this capture of so many citadels of authority, accomplished so gradually and surely, and at so little cost to anybody concerned except to the perplexed and outraged religious fundamentalists. Churches docile to scientific opinion could now be even more of a nuisance than ever, even on account of their new enthusiasm, like a stray dog that hopes it has found a new master. Few hard workers in special tasks of exacting research are eager for the rôle of religious pontiffs. Interviewers, flattering them in their moods of intellectual relaxation, may draw from them lazy admissions of what they would do and preach if they had pulpits. But the actual responsibilities of discovering God and proclaiming Him are rather sobering to men of strict mental discipline.

There is considerable evidence of this due modesty in the collection of articles before us. Mr. Cotton, a Unitarian minister, has hopefully mustered his astronomers, physicists, mathematicians, geologists, biologists and psychologists, sixteen in all, to help launch a religious "reformation of formidable proportions" (Introduction, p. lviii). But the only one of the contributors who writes confidently of a "new reformation" is Michael Idvorski Pupin, who, the editor tells us, has "saved telephone companies

$100,000,000" by his discoveries; and Pupin's idea of a new reformation is not that of science destroying or revolutionizing religious tradition. On the contrary, he looks for a corroboration and an enrichment, from the side of scientific research, of the "laws of actions and reactions of spiritual forces" embodied in the Christian "experience of two thousand years"; this latter "extract of innumerable observations and experiments recorded in the history of human lives" is asserted by Pupin to be "as carefully tested and trustworthy as our knowledge of physical forces" (pp. 109-122). Chesterton could not more extravagantly caricature the incapacity of inductive and speculative science to take the place of common sense and the rational tradition of mankind, than does the astronomer Arthur Stanley Eddington (v. p. 46). Mr. Cotton's deference for his men of research as possible religious hierophants is not unlike the reverence of Constantine for the bishops at Nicaea; but, with the possible exception of Dr. Albert Einstein, with his statement (a little too fatuous, indeed, to be quite as solemnly intended as it might appear) that "the only religious people of our largely materialistic age are the earnest men of research," the original workers contributing to the collection do not take themselves as seriously as Mr. Cotton takes them. The nearest approach to a tone of scientific self-complacency in dealing with religious tradition is to be found in the essay of Harlan G. Stetson (pp. 219-237). The hereditary aloofness of Dr. Einstein and Julian S. Huxley from Christian tradition must be taken into account in characterizing their attitude and tone toward it, as well as in estimating their views.

The biographical sketches which preface the essays often indicate the religious background of the writer, and this is important. In general, it would appear that throughout these discussions interest in religion is the livelier in proportion to earlier familiarity with religious and especially Christian culture of some form, and vaguer and perhaps more rhetorical in proportion to remoteness and unfamiliarity. Thus, Einstein (pp. 93-102) talks in a kind of holiday mood, as though the very theme of religion itself released him from the responsibilities of exact statement. Huxley (pp. 105-118) on the contrary, is dead in earnest about "dismantling the Theistic edifice," but evidently has never been close enough to the workings of organized religion to be compelled to try to imagine how a church of any kind could carry on if its Theism were thoroughly dismantled; not that this would matter so much to him, but for his insistence that religion (p. 116) "is just as much a property of human nature as is the scientific spirit," and, evidently, just as permanent an instinct. Apparently, religion, to Huxley, is vaguely anything that may make to seem worth while "the tremendous experiment of living on this planet" (p. 117) and in a universe "of appalling vastness, appalling age, and appalling meaninglessness" (p. 110). Being a Huxley and an Arnold, he cherishes the

ideals of "truth, disinterestedness, sincerity and purity of heart" (p. 113). Man, at any rate, is the "trustee of the evolutionary process." His own future and that of the earth "extends for thousands of millions of years" (p. 12). Apparently there are permanent real estate values, then, to compensate for the dismantling of Theism.

To Einstein, as to Huxley, "the ethical behaviour of man" requires no support from belief in God, or in immortality (p. 101). Yet it would be unfair to deny the former a genuine element of religious appreciation in his belief in the objectivity of truth, and his sense of its mystery as "the highest wisdom and the most radiant beauty which our dull faculties can comprehend" (p. 97). And Julian Huxley's adherence to the high-minded ethical standards of his progenitors, however he fails to justify or explain them, is no doubt the real ground of his vague belief in the permanence of what he calls "religion."

The scientific indication of ideals of justice and altruism for which Julian Huxley's cosmic viewpoint finds little place, is attempted by the geologist Kirtley F. Mather (pp. 3-19) and the physicist Robert A. Millikan (pp. 23-39). For Mather, "God is the motive power that tends to produce fine personality"; in the "history of evolution . . . there is uniformity of purpose rather than uniformity of action"; "the emergency of personality in the evolutionary process is an event of transcendent importance" (pp. 9, 10). "Among the social insects, the perfecting of the society has been accomplished by sacrificing the individual. . . . But man is trying the more difficult experiment: his motto is 'one for all and all for one'" (p. 16). Millikan, defining religion in terms of altruism (p. 24), virtually admits (pp. 36, 37) that science has been responsible for fostering ideals more like those of the "social insects" than those of man's "more difficult experiment," as defined by Mather: "Science," says Millikan, "has provided a reason for altruistic effort which is quite independent of the ultimate destination of the individual" (p. 37). In the light of Millikan's assertion that "the idea that nature is at bottom benevolent has now become well-nigh universal" and that this idea is "a contribution of science to religion," we seem to be confronted with a conflict between benevolence and justice, a conflict of which Dr. Millikan seems unaware (p. 36). He is content to observe that the problem of "what ultimately becomes of the individual . . . is entirely outside the field of science now, though it need not always remain so"; and that "science has provided a reason for altruistic effort which is quite independent of the destination of the individual." Being a Unitarian, he can speak of the contribution of science to altruistic sanction as "a powerful extension or modification of the idea that Jesus saw so clearly and preached so persistently" (pp. 36, 37). Millikan's tribute to organized religion is generous: he judges that 95 per cent. of humanitarian and forward-looking

work of the world comes directly and indirectly, in this country, from the "churches."

It is not, however, only the ethical side of religion that interests the contributors. Many of them use the language of "end" and "purpose" in regard to natural processes, consciously and without apology. Several of them leave open, some of them definitely suggest, a Theistic explanation of the universe. Heber Doust Curtis, the astronomer, refers to the phenomena of mind and personality, and to the "evidences of end or purpose and gradual development" in natural processes (p. 74), as data requiring a religious hypothesis on any adequate cosmic theory. The cosmology of Sir James Jeans seems clearly creationist: conceiving of the Universe as "a Great Thought," from the standpoint of a mathematician (pp. 241-249), he conceives of "the Creator as working outside time and space, which are parts of his creation, just as the artist is outside his canvas." A curiously modern technical phrasing of the ontological argument is given on p. 235 by Harlan G. Stetson, where he says that "the persistent determinism of mind . . . to think beyond the boundaries of space constitutes in itself some argument for the existence of intelligence not limited by metabolic processes." William McDougall, the psychologist (pp. 143-158), with rugged bluntness, admits himself "biassed in favor of" Theism. Being, however, extremely vigilant to avoid what he regards as the corruption of the cold impartiality of scientific method by the influence of philosophies, which he regards as value-judgments, he weighs the scientific evidence for Theism, finds it of some weight, but is not convinced that it is sufficient for proof (pp. 152-158). McDougall discounts all attempts to explain mental phenomena wholly in physical terms, as a corruption of the impartiality of scientific method by monistic philosophy. An empirical dualism seems to him to meet the facts of psychology at the existing state of knowledge. A somewhat corresponding dualism is advocated by J. Malcolm Bird, in his double hypothesis to account for the phenomena of psychical research (pp. 287-291). William McDougall, according to the editor, is by preference a Unitarian, but this may only mean that he is unready to subscribe to any more definite faith; and it is not too rash to conjecture that inheritance of some north-British orthodoxy, Anglican or Presbyterian, or some other contact with articulate Christian theology, has assisted in his religious orientation. Arthur Stanley Eddington (pp. 43-49) is so keenly critical of the limitations of scientific method as a criterion of truth, and of the inadequacy of philosophers to meet the needs of daily life, that it seems to him better to "employ a conception that was unfolded two thousand years ago." Eddington's *Nature and the Physical World* is quoted (pp. 72-73) by Heber T. Curtis to the effect that "the cleavage between the scientific and the non-scientific . . . is not a cleavage between the concrete and the transcendental, but between the metrical and the non-

metrical." Edwin Grant Conklin (pp. 77-89), another astronomer, affirms that "the magnitude of the universe has not dwarfed the soul and mind of man," but relies less upon scientific evidence than upon general experience of the practical effects of "faith, hope and love. . . . Faith alone assures us that there is a definite purpose in all existence."

Sir Oliver Lodge (pp. 253-266) reiterates his well-known thesis that "the evidence for human survival (after death) does not depend on argument but on experience"; J. Malcolm Bird, on the same theme of psychical research, emphasizes the bearing of the "relativity" hypothesis upon predictions of future events, since time, on the hypothesis, in some ways co-extends the future with the present. Judging by the discussions in this collection, it looks hardly likely that actual workers in research and experiment would lead in any attempt to create a new religion based wholly and explicitly on the postulates of inductive and speculative science. Too many of these writers would be self-distrustful of their qualifications for such a task, and have too frequent thoughtful moods in contemplating the religious traditions with which they are familiar, however incomplete or contradictory these may be. The symposium which its editor has gathered as a kind of presage of a revolution of religion by science, turns out to be, in large part, a much less sensational collection of fragmentary testimony of scientific workers to the persistent vitality of old and clearly-defined moral and religious truths.

W. T. M. Gamble.

Washington, D. C.

Geschichte der führenden Völker. Band I. Teil I: *Sinn der Geschichte.* Von Dr. Joseph Bernhart. Teil II: *Urgeschichte der Menschheit.* Von Dr. Hugo Obermaier. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co. 1931. Pp. xiv, 347. $3.50.)

The editors of the new 30-volume History of the Leading Peoples, published by the renowned Herder firm, have decided to devote the first volume of the series to a study of the end and purpose of history and to a summary of our present knowledge of prehistoric man. This is probably a unique feature of the new work and proves that the editors have a very exalted conception of the function of history. It reminds a German reviewer of the famous Prologue in Heaven, in Goethe's *Faust.*

The first part, *Sinn der Geschichte,* that is, meaning and purpose of history, is an attempt at a philosophy of history, taking the term history in its objective sense. It aims at finding an answer to the question: What is the ultimate meaning and end of all historical happenings? What has the Christian thinker to say to that seeming chaos of achievements and failures, of peace and strife, of the never-ending succession of

triumphs and defeats of good and evil, which constitute the drama of human activities? It was time that after a long interval a Catholic scholar undertook the task. Too long the field has been left almost entirely to the Marxes and Hegels and Spenglers with their godless and materialistic interpretations of history, or to the school of the so-called "historism" which practically denies any meaning and purpose to the historical process. On the Catholic side we have in English Charles S. Devas's brilliant work, *Key to the World's Progress*, which appeared in 1906, and which gave us something approaching a Christian philosophy of history. But to fulfill that purpose it is somewhat too negative, too exclusively concerned with the antinomies of history, with the objections that may be raised against the existence of a divine plan in human events. In German, Franz Sawicki, in 1922, published his *Geschichtsphilosophie*, a very readable introduction to the principles of the science of history, but relatively little space is devoted to the ultimate end of history. A new attempt was therefore fully justified.

Bernhart at the outset shows that the very nature of historical happenings, unless we are to surrounder ourselves to a hopeless unqualified pessimism, demands an inquiry into their ultimate meaning. The questions, Whence, and Whither, and Why, will never cease to haunt the human mind. The events themselves, even when viewed in their concatenation extending over a long period, do not furnish us with their explanation and justification. This justification cannot be found in the world of space and time but must be sought in an unchangeable eternal future.

The author then gives a penetrating analysis of the various false or insufficient philosophies of history. Some have failed because they wrongly supposed that history has an intramundane purpose, the progress towards some material or cultural goal, the creation of material or cultural values, etc. Others profess to see in the historical drama the visible and tangible working out of some extramundane or divine plan the nature of which we can understand from the events themselves. In the fourth chapter Bernhart establishes his own thesis. To ask for the meaning of history is in its last analysis the same as to ask: What are we, what is our end? Man as he is, a being endowed with intelligence and freedom, but also beset with unruly appetites, man as a social being, always influencing and being influenced by his surroundings, man as the maker and bearer of all civilization and culture, must always remain the center of historical interest. But the decisive factor in all historical events is man's free will. Hence the correct standard of judgment of all human events is the moral standard. Man himself in all ages has measured human actions by moral standards though often incorrect ones. These standards he conceived as obligatory, as imposed by some extramundane divine being. The Christian standard is of course ultimately the will of the Creator. But from

that it does not follow that divine approval or disapproval of human actions is manifested to us on this earth by divine rewards or punishments. In this sense the saying that the world's history is the world's judgment is not true. If we ignore the possibility of righting the balance of justice in another world, history becomes indeed a mystery.

In the fourth and fifth chapters the author gives a graphic, one might say almost too dark a, picture of the essentially tragic character of the human drama with its continuous destruction of its own achievements with the inevitable disappointments awaiting almost all human enterprises. It is precisely this tragic character of mundane events which at all times has urged thinking men to look for a transcendental solution of the riddle of human existence. The final answer to the anxious questioning of the beholder of this tragedy is: History is the account of the human share in the kingdom of God here on earth but also of human shortcomings in participating in this kingdom. And if this participation in the kingdom of God is of the very essence of history, then there is only a short step to the answer to that other question of the purpose of human activity. It is the glory of God. This purpose mankind fulfils—wittingly or unwittingly—in its march along the dusty roads of history.

Bernhart's study is undoubtedly marked by depth of thought, large comprehensive views of a mass of human events, and an abundance of suggestive reflexions. Less praise can be given to the form. The extremely involved style makes the work by no means easy reading and often shrouds the real thought of the author in obscurity. Why not say at least the simpler things in a simple way?

The second part of the volume, the account of prehistoric man, has been entrusted to Dr. Hugo Obermaier, at present lecturer at the University of Madrid. No better choice could have been made as Dr. Obermaier is one of the outstanding Catholic authorities on prehistory. By his own discoveries in Spain and France he has contributed not a little to the advance of this relatively young science.

The purpose of the work is to make the general reader acquainted with the results so far achieved of geological and archeological research into the existence and mode of living of prehistoric man. In an initial chapter the pros and cons of man's existence in the tertiary period are discussed. The author is not convinced that evidence hitherto adduced is conclusive. He then briefly but lucidly outlines the character of the glacial period, the alternate extensions and recessions in the glaciation of Europe, Asia, and America, the fauna and flora of this period, and its probable climatic conditions. He thus depicts the background of the lives and modes of living of our oldest ancestors. For man seems to have existed throughout the whole or at least the greater part of the duration of this period, as is proved by the numerous finds of utensils shaped by

man and in part also by the skeletal remains brought to light in ever increasing number ever since in 1856 the discovery of the Neanderthal man aroused such lively discussions in scientific circles. The general reader will naturally be most interested in the duration of the glacial age. As man is practically contemporary with the whole or the greater part of it such knowledge will enable us to form an estimate of the age of the human race. Dr. Obermaier is far from categorical in this delicate matter, but ventures the opinion that an estimate of from 500,000 to 600,000 years for the whole glacial period might not prove excessive (page 176). One would wish for a little more explanation of the methods by which geologists arrive at these figures, but such explanation might prove too technical for the general reader. Yet the little that is given whets one's appetite for more.

The last part treats man of the Young Stone Age or neolithic period and of the age of bronze and iron. Here the date of the dividing line between history and prehistory is of course not the same for all continents, not even for all parts of Europe. While Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt furnish us with written records dating back thousands of years before the Christian era, and hence have a history in large parts of Europe the field is still left to the archeologist who uses as his sources household utensils and weapons and skeletal remains. As far as the non-specialist can judge the account is reliable and adequate. Dr. Obermaier has the gift, not shared by all his colleagues, of presenting his data in a clear and orderly manner. The illustrations, which are partly photographs taken by the author himself, really shed light on the text and, as some of them are hard to find elsewhere, they enhance the value of the work. The precision and lucidity of the style prove that we have here to do with a scholar who has complete mastery of his subject. We do not doubt that this splendid summary of Dr. Obermaier will lend prestige to the new enterprise of Herder.

ALFRED KAUFMANN, S. J.

Creighton University.

The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann. By LESLIE W. JONES. [Medieval Academy Publication No. 10.] (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America. 1932. Pp. xii, 100. Plates, 100. $20.00.)

This work is the result of the author's study of the script of Cologne begun in 1929 while he was engaged in the investigation of the script of Tours. He has limited himself to the period from Hildebald (785-819) to Hermann (890-923), and to the investigation of twenty-eight MSS. which can be dated with reasonable exactness and which give clear evidence of

having been written at Cologne. He regards his study as a preliminary survey only, and therefore it would hardly be fair to blame him for certain omissions. Thus he was unable to see several MSS. that were apparently written at Cologne in the period under consideration, but now reposing in other European libraries; and he has deliberately left out of his discussion a number of MSS. whose assignment to Cologne is open to question. Hence much remains to be done on the script of this center within the period treated, to say nothing of the age after Hermann.

But within the limits which he has set for himself, Professor Jones has done his work with thoroughness and care. His study falls into two main divisions. In the first, after two brief chapters on the libraries of Cologne and the limits of his study—the material in the second chapter might well have been incorporated into the preface—he proceeds in chapter III to a systematic description of the books of Cologne, dealing in minute detail with leaves, dimensions, ruling, gatherings, signatures, abbrevations, and punctuation, all of which are so important for establishing the date and provenance of MSS. In chapter IV he gives an account of the script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann. It is the story of a fairly good eighth century Merovingian script developing largely under foreign influences, in the main Turonian and to a less extent Franco-Saxon and Irish, into a fine Carolingian hand. In the second part of his study, the author gives a detailed paleographical description of the twenty-eight MSS. selected for investigation. The description is even fuller than that in Rand's *Studies in the Script of Tours I* which has served as the model for the present work. After elaborate indices covering all phases of the study come one hundred beautifully executed plates, which give the reader ample opportunity for observing the evolutions of the script of Cologne in all its essential features.

Professor Jones has added a valuable chapter to the history of Latin writing and it is to be hoped that in the near future he will take up the further investigation of the script of Cologne. Again we should feel grateful to the Medieval Academy of America for making possible such a publication and in such magnificent form.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

Catholic University of America.

Ordination Anointings in the Western Church Before 1000 A. D. By GERALD ELLARD, S. J., A. M., Ph. D., Professor of Liturgy, St. Louis University. [Medieval Academy Publication No. 16.] (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America. 1933. Pp. xii, 123. $3.50.)

This study is in substance the author's dissertation presented to the University of Munich in 1930 as a requirement for the degree Ph. D. As

the question of the origin and date of anointing in ordination has long been a mooted one, he decided to examine this problem from the earliest times down to the death of Sylvester II (1003 A. D.), by which date the rite of anointing in Holy Orders was fixed in all its essentials as we know it today.

In carrying out his task, the author has examined all extant materials, printed and in manuscript, bearing directly or indirectly on his subject. Fortunately he has enjoyed the benefit of personal consultation on many difficult points with many of the outstanding specialists in the field of liturgy, and on paleographical matters, which are in part decisive for his argument; and he has had the constant direction and advice of Professor Paul Lehmann, one of the greatest living masters in Medieval Latin paleography.

On the basis of an examination and evaluation of the extant sources, Professor Ellard reaches the following general conclusions. Anointing with oil appears first among the Visigoths of Aquitaine, as is evidenced by the *Missale Francorum*, a codex written at Poitiers 700-730 A. D., and as an element of priestly ordination only. In the course of the eighth century, however, anointing of the hands of a bishop is also mentioned. Under the reforming zeal of Charlemagne anointing was frowned upon but reappeared later as a rite in which the head of the bishop was anointed at consecration. He writes:

> The geographical spread from then on kept pace with the ceremonial growth of the rite. In a form of ritual common in England and spreading thence to Normandy and Brittany, unctions multiplied themselves in favor of the priest, even of the deacon. In the ordinals which finally triumphed the rite was, for priest, never more than a simple sacring of the hands. For bishops, on the contrary, the ceremony became in time very elaborate, entailing a threefold anointing of the head, and in addition to the old sacring of the hands, a special hallowing of the thumb. . . . In the course of the eighth and ninth centuries, this rite, owing mostly to political causes, overspread modern France, western and southern Germany, modern Switzerland. In the first half of the tenth century similar movements carried the ceremony down the Italian peninsula to Rome. . . . Thence it went out in new forms, stamped with Roman authority, and under the aegis of the last of the Saxon emperors, into the lands beyond the Alps.

So far as I can see, Professor Ellard has drawn these conclusions legitimately from the extant evidence. According to the latter, then, the rite of ordination anointing makes its first appearance, not in Frankish Gaul, but in Visigothic Aquitaine. Of course there might still be question of a Celtic origin, but with the author I also am convinced that the passage in Gildas on which the argument for a Celtic origin is primarily based does not refer to a physical anointing. Furthermore, it is made clear that

anointing is mentioned first in connection with priestly ordination and only later in connection with the consecration of bishops. I should like to stress the point, however, that such are the conclusions to be derived from extant documents only. In view of the relatively small number of liturgical MSS. presented from the Early Middle Ages and of the consequent fragmentary character of our knowledge on many points, I should not want to say that the problem of the first origins and date of ordination anointing, as distinct from the question of the first mention of the rite in our MSS., is completely solved.

Professor Ellard in this monograph has made an important contribution to the history of the liturgy. But it is to be regretted that he does not cite his sources more fully, as many of the latter are inaccessible to most of his readers, and in several places in his work a more liberal amount of context would make it easier to test the validity of his conclusions.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE.

Catholic University of America.

The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166. By F. M. STENTON. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1932. Pp. vii, 311.)

This volume represents an attempt to give a survey, and at the same time to analyze, the guiding principles which determined the chief relationships of early English feudalism. In an introductory chapter the author pays a tribute of appreciation to J. H. Round, whose ardent disciple he was, pointing out in detail the contributions made by Round in the field of English feudal society. The author then takes up his study of the aristocratic society, or the social organization, of the Norman age from the standpoint of the knights and barons rather than from the angle of the manor or the *Curia Regis.*

The chapters deal with the Feudalism of the Norman Settlement, the Honour and the Lord's Household, the Honorial Baronage, Thegns and Knights, Knight's Fees and the Knight's Service, Castles and Castle-guard, and the End of Norman Feudalism. A rather lengthy appendix contains selections from documents used in the essay itself.

In handling the themes mentioned the author shows several fine characteristics that immediately strike the reader. He insists, for instance, in clarifying the meaning of his leading terms—honor, baron, thegn, knight, castle-guard, etc.; for he wants his reader to know precisely what the terms meant at the particular time of which he speaks. Although he goes into great detail at times to make sure of his point in the matter of definition, he never loses sight of his main thesis. He is occupied with the organization of society in a definite century, on the relationships of

the members of that society, and on the duties attendant on each rank. Another characteristic that stands out is his thoroughness. In reading scholars like Round or Maitland, one feels that the available sources have been diligently made use of; but Stenton seems to have combed the literature thoroughly in search of every possible sort of source.

This work, abounding in precious detail interpreted in scholarly fashion, represents a real addition to our literature on early English society and will unquestionably be studied by those who use Round, Maitland and Vinogradoff.

F. A. MULLIN.

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Dubuque, Iowa.

Hildebrand: A Life of Gregory VII. By A. F. MACDONALD, D. D., F. R. Hist. S. (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd. 1932. Pp. ix, 246.)

This is another volume in the series Great Mediaeval Churchmen, edited by Dr. I. Elliott Binns, who has himself contributed the volume on Pope Innocent III. The author of the present work is already known for his studies in mediaeval ecclesiastical history, especially the Eucharistic conversy of Berengarius; and his thorough acquaintance with sources for the history of the period entitle his writings to the consideration of scholars. But this one is coloured throughout by his conception of the Church as a sort of agglomeration of dioceses with no visible centre of unity. "The unit of Christian organization," he writes, "is the local ecclesia, at its greatest extent the diocese, with no more than a moral supervision by the Metropolitan bishop" (p. 5). Hence, while papal rule may have served a useful purpose in the transitional stage between the disappearance of Roman imperial unity and the emergence of modern nationalism, it was not justifiable in itself but at best a tolerable usurpation, and the Anglican schism under Henry VIII was only the recovery of that local independence which had been by the popes unlawfully and tyrannically suppressed.

That the Church in England acquired independence when she repudiated the authority of the Pope and accepted the domination of the State would be a thesis hard to maintain in the light of plain facts; and that "the unit of Christian organization is the local ecclesia" is one of those Anglican paper theories which read well in books but are quite unsupported by experience, as Newman and others have found out. Having once embraced it, a student of Hildebrand's career inevitably gets the entire history out of focus, for that history is simply unintelligible except on the view that not merely Hildebrand himself never entertained such a concept of Christ's Church but that the mass of bishops in his day, and long before

and long after his day, were strangers to it. That great pope's life work consisted in asserting the essential independence of the Church as a spiritual body owing allegiance to the successor of St. Peter. Had he been merely endeavouring to impose on the Church a kind of revived Roman Empire, with the pope in the place of Caesar, had he been trying to rob the local ordinaries of their legitimate independent authority, he could hardly have succeeded as he did. For the bishops of the mediaeval period included some excellent theologians and canonists who, had the "diocesan theory" been traditional, would certainly have known it and strenuously asserted it.

Within the limits of a small volume Dr. MacDonald has given a learned and interesting presentation of his view, and his work will be useful to Catholic students desiring to learn the judgment of an Anglican scholar on a pontiff who sacrificed his life for the most un-Anglican of causes. But it can hardly be welcomed as of first-rate importance for the study of Hildebrand; for, like other books of the series (*e. g.*, Webb's *John of Salisbury*) it reads too much like an attempt to inject Anglicanism into the Middle Ages.

EDWIN RYAN.

Roland Park, Md.

Saint Thomas Aquinas and his Work. By A. D. SERTILLANGES, O. P., translated by GODFREY ANSTRUTHER, O. P. (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1932. Pp. x, 150. 5 s.)

Father Anstruther's is a happy translation of the delightful French of his brother Dominican Sertillanges. St. Thomas is reviewed in his life, task, method, genius, teaching, style, poetry and triumph—and then, what is of major interest to us—his influence and his future. If St. Thomas' style is rightly described as that of "a builder or engineer, who uses only primordial elements, and basic means of assemblage" (p. 108), not so is that of Sertillanges-Anstruther. The *bon mots* of many are happily brought together and rendered in their text; for example in speaking of St. Thomas' poetic gift (p. 113) it is said that the *Summa* is structurally "like a Gothic cathedral; a lyric of pure thought . . . to borrow Carlyle's phrase about Shakespeare: 'all rounds itself off, into a kind of rhythmic coherence.'" The biographer, however, does not think of Thomism as a fort without breaches. Our day needs a new *Summa* embodying "a Thomism that will be to S. Thomas' work what the New Testament was to the Old—without, of course, the intervention of a divine Person" (p. 150). St. Thomas, nevertheless, is a fort with fortifications. "If in the future it (Thomism) would be adopted, it would greatly help in the restoration and harmony of thought, and the promotion of peace and

order in practical affairs" and we should the sooner realize what M. Gonzague de Reynolds so hopefully visualized: "We are living in a nebula, but a nebula which may become a star."

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609. By P. GEYL, Lit. D. (London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd. 1932. Pp. 310. 12s. 6d.)

We have here a work on a most important chapter of Reformation history that no historian—particularly no Church historian, can afford to miss. The author is a Netherlander, and Professor of Dutch History and Institutions at the University of London. He tells us that the present work is based on his *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche Stam* (vol. I, Amsterdam, 1931). He disclaims any ambition to supersede Motley's seven volume work on the *Rise of the Dutch Republic,* but his single volume is incomparably more valuable to the historian than Motley's seven. He disagrees with Motley's view that the revolt was "an illustration of the eternal struggle between right and wrong," that "Catholicism and Absolutism were Powers of Darkness, while Protestantism was one with Liberty, Democracy and Light"; he knows that principles were involved and admits that his sympathies may be engaged on one of the opposing sides, but "he knows that the other side, too, must have had its justification, and he will try to explain its position rather than overwhelm it with ridicule and invective." Protestantism is not to him "the radiant message of liberty and progress which it was to the New England Presbyterian"; neither can he see "in Catholicism the wicked system of sloth and persecution that it seemed" to Motley. He sees in the struggle he narrates "that other issues were, at least, equally important with the religious, and that other factors had far more influence in determining the event of the contest." Such is the author's acknowledged attitude which is not abandoned throughout the work.

Two introductory chapters deal with the early history of the Netherlands (seventeen provinces). Here we follow the progress towards national unity, the development of a characteristic culture, the beginnings of Catholic disruption, and the signs of possible future clash between the dynastic interests of the alien sovereign and the native nobles and burghers. The main theme of the revolt (1555-1609) is handled in four chapters: I, The Prelude (1555-1572); II, Holland and Zealand in Revolt (1572-1576); III, The Entire Fatherland in Revolt (1576-1580); IV, The Split (1580-1609). A final chapter sketches the effect of the revolution on the literary and artistic life of the Netherlands before and after the split. The volume is provided with an index of persons which is not merely the usual index but a sort of brief *Who's Who* of the

revolt. The author makes it clear that the revolt was national not sectional; that the revolt was primarily political; that the emergence of a Protestant North was by no means in accord with the aspirations of the majority of the people there but determined by a forceful, intolerant minority which succeeded in dominating the strategic key-states, Holland and Zealand. So too the emergence of a Catholic South, where a strong Calvinist minority was also to be found, was ultimately assured by the victories of Parma. The split between North and South was not due to any "inherent divergence" between the Netherlands people. A Protestant North (not without numerous Catholics however) and a Catholic South were not predetermined by the natures of the populations. The two great cultural currents of Catholicism and Protestantism originally mingled their courses in both North and South. It was only the outcome of strife, of war with the foreign ruler, which brought about the redistribution of forces which was to estrange the two regions for so long. The issue of the struggle was not due to superior courage possessed by the North, or even by Holland and Zealand alone. The outcome was determined by the strategic advantages of the states that lay behind the great rivers. Finally the split was "a disaster brought upon the Netherlands race by foreign domination."

Professor Geyl has written an admirably clear, concise and eminently reasonable account of the revolt. It is impossible in a brief review to call attention to its many excellences; but as a final recommendation of the work, I would stress its objectivity and the absence from it of political or religious animus.

P. J. BARRY.

Huntington, L. I.

Benedetto XIV e la Repubblica di Venezia: Storia delle Trattative Diplomatiche per la Difesa dei Diritti Giurisdizionali Ecclesiastici. By ANTON M. BETTANINI, Professor of Diplomacy and History of Treaties in the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan. (Milan: Società Editrice "Vita e Pensiero." 1931. Pp. 329.)

This book is an excellent history of a previously untreated controversy between Benedict XIV and the Republic of Venice, involving the rights of Church and State. The dispute centered about the Decree of Sept. 7, 1754, by which Venice made an attempt to assume powers generally conceded as belonging to Rome. This bold step is described as resulting from the general eighteenth-century state of mind, and, more directly, from the ambitious youthful Venetian senators counseled by the equally ambitious cleric Montegnacco. Their attitude was one of humble recognition of Rome's authority in spiritual matters, although much evidence is brought to light to show that this attitude was not sincere. Their method was primarily the

transference of papal power to local bishops, and perhaps their most important goal was the retention of funds normally reverting to Rome, a goal supposedly of great import at that period of Venice's steady economic decline. For four years the diplomatic contest was carried on, partly because Benedict XIV hesitated to use strict methods, in spite of the advice of the College of Cardinals. Venetian obstinacy was first broken by the intervention of France and Austria—diplomatic intervention not without threats of a material nature—but it is not at all unlikely that the controversy would have continued much longer were it not for the death of Benedict XIV. Clement XIII was a Venetian, and, in this case, a true *deus ex machina*, because his paternal patriotic letter to the Venetian senate immediately brought the battle of words to an end with the unconditional and even enthusiastic surrender of his compatriots.

One feels that the author has given us a model for purely objective diplomatic history, with copious documentation including an appendix of the most important correspondence.

HARRY DEFERRARI.

Catholic University of America.

Life and Manners in Madrid, 1750-1800. CHARLES E. KANY. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1932. Pp. xiii, 483. $7.50.)

For his interesting and colorful picture of Spanish society in Madrid, Dr. Kany has selected the critical and disturbed period when the determined effort was made to Gallicize Madrid society in the hope of later Gallicizing Spain. To superimpose one culture upon another is never accomplished without disturbance, and frequently is attended by disasters. The latter is well illustrated in the picture of life and manners which Dr. Kany presents. Thoroughly to appreciate the social significance of this study, requires a knowledge of the political and economic conditions in Spain during this century. Even without this, however, students of social psychology will be amused and entertained by this spectacle of a society disporting itself. One is immediately struck by many a modern note.

For example, the confusion between charity and what the economists call social relief and freedom in the industrial system; girls being "granted the privilege of entering any field of employment"; the craze for spectacles and the vogue of beauticians. The reader will be highly entertained by the seriousness with which the press took itself in 1750-1800, a gravity which time has neither tempered or lessened. Fifty-five newspapers appeared in Madrid during this century of enlightenment, not all surviving, though this was not due to lack of support or propaganda. Some urged that the obligatory perusal of newspapers would instill culture into people

who had none in a society where a quota of two geniuses to two hundred ignoramuses was considered normal. The *Correo de Madrid* in 1786 considered its mission to encourage a taste for reading, to aid which it published articles of political, literary and scientific interest. The *Memorial literario instructivo y curioso de la corte de Madrid,* although appearing intermittently, anticipated our Sunday editions and covered all the fields of interest from weather statistics, medical reports, descriptions of difficult and curious operations, reports of various learned societies and academies, plots of current books, social notes on religious and secular festivals, funeral notices, reviews of current dramatic offerings to lists of fires, recent discoveries, new buildings, sales and royal decrees.

Such advanced reforms and other ideas, philosophical, scientific and architectural, even more advanced, of the Bourbon program, met with stubborn opposition from the Spanish masses, unmoved by either the descent of the "effete aristocracy" to their level, or the rise from their ranks of a new and powerful bureaucracy. Too many conclusions may not be drawn from this and from the list of facts prepared by Dr. Kany, and indeed he warns against this very thing. He sets out to describe Madrid society between 1750 and 1800, but the picture he presents is drawn from the documents he consulted, and therefore he can give only as much of the picture as these offer. The limitations of his picture are the limitations of his documents. That he himself did not heed his own warning and refuse to draw a conclusion, may be inferred from his remark that there was another life in Madrid which flowed around the life of his picture, which did not get into his documents, but which must have been there or Madrid itself would not have survived. Thus his unspoken conclusion is that his book presents a sorry enough picture of Madrid society. This is true. And the weakest point is the picture of the religious life of the times. Naturally the satirists whom he most often consulted, found more material for their skill in the formalized and sterile religious practices conventionally supported by a dying class. In such, the sharp and bitter ridicule in which this type of Spanish genius delights, finds it greatest opportunities, but that the inner spirit of the Catholic religion was apprehended by even this society is revealed in a telling essay contributed to one of the fashionable *tertulias.*

We are not finding fault with Dr. Kany for his selections in the religious culture of the times, because his fault is the fault of his age and background which refuses to present principles of unity, or even to seek for them, relying for an interpretation of society on a series of pictures, which however vivid, interesting and true, do not give us the whole synthesis and thus fail to explain the society under discussion. By so much Dr. Kany fails to give us history, though we admire his industry and patient research. Nevertheless those who do possess these principles

of social unity, those who comprehend the structure of the inner skeleton of a social order, will find his book of immense interest and value. It does present a description of the characteristics of what was the leading or as some socialogists would say, the dominant class of Spanish society. And in his calm recital that class stands condemned for frivolity, emptiness of soul, neglect of duty, meanness of outlook and abandonment of dignity. The Hispano-Roman-Christian virtues were foreign to it. It refused to lead and refused to abdicate and for such failure the Divine Nemesis which watches over the destinies of peoples, has taken a tragic revenge in the upheavals, the miseries, the disasters and broken fortunes of succeeding generations. Those who sit in the Cortes today to observe the gyrations of parties and the confusion of leadership, may find the cause in Dr. Kany's book. Let other countries with similar failings beware.

MARIE R. MADDEN.

Fordham University.

The Story of Mount Melleray. By Rev. AILBE J. LUDDY, O. Cist. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1932. Pp. 282.)

While there is no indication that the author so intended, this work may be looked upon as the centennial history of Mount Melleray, for it was just about a century ago that the foundation was made in Ireland. Mount Melleray derives its name from the Cistercian abbey of Melleray founded in Brittany in 1145. During the French Revolution the monks had been driven out of the country, but after a sojourn of a few years in England, they returned in 1817. In the community of more than two hundred monks about seventy were of Irish birth, among them the prior, Father Vincent Ryan. Fearing the instability of the government, Father Vincent was solicitous to find a more permanent home for the monks, and when an invitation came from Ireland, he eagerly accepted it. He had scarcely arranged for the lease of the property in Ireland in 1831 when the French government dissolved Melleray Abbey, scattering the French subjects and transporting the Irish.

The story of the first settlement at Rathmore, County Kerry, and then at the present site near Cappoquin, County Waterford, is told in most interesting fashion. "Whether it be a special dispensation of Divine Providence, or a manifestation of the enmity of hell, true it is that few Cistercian monasteries have ever been founded except under circumstances of the most discouraging kind." Father Luddy's description of the foundation of Mount Melleray is at once a thrilling demonstration of this fact and a tribute to the sanctity of its pioneers.

From its earliest years, when it was aided by O'Connell and others of

the gentry, to the present time, Mount Melleray has played an important part in Irish Catholic life. Its schools have long been noted as homes of real learning. The multiplication of its daughter houses has brought credit to the parent. One of these was started in Sardinia in 1840 at the invitation of King Charles Albert, but through a misunderstanding, it was not completed. The next foundation, that of New Melleray, was made at Dubuque, Iowa, in 1849, and this has grown to a large and flourishing community. In 1878, Mount St. Joseph, near Roscrea, County Tipperary, was founded, and this, too, has flourished. Several offers for foundations in Australia had to be declined for lack of monks and means. In 1926, the abbot of Mount Melleray gave Glencairn Abbey, near Lismore on the Blackwater, to the Cistercian nuns of Stapehill, Dorsetshire, thus reëstablishing this Order in Ireland for the first time since the dissolution. A most intimate connection has always existed between Mount Melleray and Mount St. Bernard, the Cistercian abbey near Leicester in England; the latter house is still visited by the abbot of Mount Melleray and has also received from it most of its distinguished abbots.

In the introduction the author gives a fine outline of the history of the Cistercian Order which serves as an excellent setting for the story of Mount Melleray; this is a resumé of the author's larger work on the same subject.

Two defects in this work are noted by this reviewer. First, a change is made in the manner and style of presentation. The story as far as about 1860 is told with the charm and the grace that one is accustomed to find in the author's works; after that date the narrative is carried on in the chronicle fashion, which is rather jerky and in which the slightest details receive the same attention as the important events. The other defect is the amount of space allotted to the foundation of New Melleray in America—in itself very interesting, but out of its proper proportion here.

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Dubuque, Iowa.

The Irish Battalion in the Papal Army of 1860. By G. F. H. Berkeley. (Dublin and Cork: The Talbot Press. 1929. Pp. xxii, 254. 15 s.)

By 1860, as the result of the armistice of Villafranca and the treaty of Zurich, the movement for the unification of Italy was entering its final phase. After the withdrawal of Austria from its leadership in Italian politics, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, lying between the kingdom of Piedmont and the States of the Church, joined the former. Soon Bologna with the province of Romagna, all papal territory, also voted for union with Northern Italy under the banner of Victor Emmanuel. Unless the

movement could be checked, the remainder of the Papal States would soon become a part of united Italy and the patrimony of St. Peter cease to exist.

In this crisis the papal government decided to appeal to the Catholic world for men and arms. The response was immediate: Catholic recruits—Swiss, Bavarians, Poles, Czechs, Germans, French, Belgians, and Irish, poured into Rome to augment the papal army which was being organized by Mgr. de Mérode under the command of Gen. Lamoricière. From Canada, too, came companies raised for this service, and many Catholic citizens of the United States requested permission of their government to enlist under the Pope's banner. The volume under review is a fascinating account of the Irish participation in this movement.

The story of the several "Irish Brigades" that have fought under foreign governments is an epic still to be written. Irish battalions fought in the Spanish wars; the Irish tradition in Austria is linked with such names as O'Donnell, Taafe, and Nugent; the French service was never without its Irish corps; there was an Irish battalion in Naples during the eighteenth century; and in our own Civil War days the Irish Brigade fought fearlessly at Fredericksburg and Gettysburg.

When the War of Liberation broke out in Italy in 1859, Irish sympathy was with the republican cause; and when Gen. Patrick MacMahon won his marshal's baton at Magenta there was widespread rejoicing. But the attack on the papacy was another matter. Besides, in England a Garibaldian regiment was being raised. So when early in March, 1860, Count Charles MacDonnell of Vienna, attaché of Field Marshal Count Nugent and a chamberlain of the Holy Father, called upon Editor Sullivan of the *Nation* to ask what the Irish were going to do about it, within a month an Irish contingent was on its way.

The battalion of St. Patrick, commonly called the Irish Brigade, at first consisting of 1300 men but later reduced to 1100, was formed into eight companies, four of which had headquarters in the northern town of Ancona, the other four further south in Spoleto. Both divisions were under Major O'Reilly, afterwards a popular member of the House of Commons. At Spoleto, Perugia, Castelfidardo, and in Ancona, the Irish volunteers, in the words of the farewell address of Monsignor de Mérode, "resisted to the last an entire army of sacrilegious invaders." The spirit of the men was best shown at Ancona: when the citadel had fallen and the troops were marching out of the town under Piedmontese escort, every man waved his cap to the forts and cried, "Pius IX forever!" Three or four years later many of these same men fought on one side or the other in the American Civil War, among them Gen. John Coppinger, Capt. Daniel Keiley, Capt. Martin L. Luther, Col. Myles Keogh, Capt. Cronin, Capt. William Stafford, Capt. Michael O'Connell, Lieut. Joseph Walsh, Colonels Mulhall and Gleeson, and several others.

The author has done his work well. He has given an adequate background for his story which is told in a lively, entertaining style. His narrative is based on primary and secondary sources, including materials in the Royal Archives in Rome, the Historical Section of the Italian War Office, and in the Vatican Library and Archives; more intimate is the first-hand evidence gathered from survivors of the battalion. There are several pertinent illustrations, seven appendices, and an adequate index. The publisher has done his part in making an unusually attractive volume.

LEO F. STOCK.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

La Question Romaine de Pie VI à Pie XI. Par G. MOLLAT, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie., Éditeurs. 1932. Pp. 469.)

This is the latest of the splendid volumes issued by the "Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique" which was inaugurated in 1897 for the purpose of preparing a "Histoire ecclésiastique universelle, mise au point des progrès de la critique de notre temps." Sixteen earlier volumes have appeared in the series, one of which was Professor Mollat's *Les Papes d'Avignon* (*1305-1378*), now in its sixth edition.

The settlement of the Roman Question by the Lateran treaties of February 11, 1929, has created renewed interest in the history of the subject. Articles, monographs, and studies of varying merit, some of them popular compilations, many others ephemeral and worthless, have appeared in nearly every language. Among the few marked by scholarship, freshness of treatment, and by the use of worthwhile sources, especially the more recent ones, the present work is outstanding. Nor will any fault be found with its fairness: Pius IX is at times hesitant and dilatory, the diplomacy of Cardinal Antonelli is not always commended, the shifting maze of European politics is carefully followed to show the selfish national interests at work, and the good as well as the bad in the unification movement is set forth with due consideration of the complicated political and religious factors involved.

In the preface the author gives the geographical and governmental background of the Papal States at the end of the eighteenth century. Chapter I, Pius VI and the French Revolution, concerns the campaign of 1796-1797 and the treaty of Tolentino, the proclamation of the republic, the exile of Pius VI, and the republic of 1798-1799. Under the general title of the Tribulations of Pius VII, chapter II deals with the conclave of Venice (November 30, 1799-March 14, 1800), the first restoration of the temporal power, the relations between Napoleon I, Murat, and Pius VII, the second restoration of the pontifical government (1814), the Congress of Vienna, and the execution of its treaty. The third chapter treats of

the States of the Church from 1815 to the election of Pius IX, describing the reorganization of the government under Pius VII, the various societies and factions, the pontificate of Leo XII, the troubles in Romagna, and republicanism and federation to the Risorgimento period. Chapter IV discusses the election of Pius IX, his reforms, and the movement for Italian independence. The revolution of 1848 and the restoration of the Pope make up the contents of Chapter V. Chapter VI deals with the events leading to the downfall of the temporal power: the Sardinian situation, the Congress of Paris, the peace of Villafranca, Castelfidardo, the fruitless efforts toward conciliation (1860-1862), the Convention of September 15, 1864, the French evacuation of Rome, the fall of the Eternal City, and the Law of Guarantees. The relations between the Vatican and Quirinal (1870-1929) are thoroughly set forth in the final chapter. The appendices give the texts of the armistice of Bologna (June 23, 1796), the treaty of Tolentino (February 19, 1797), the Law of Guarantees (May 13, 1871), and the Lateran treaties of February 11, 1929. There is also a map of the Papal States, 1860, and an inadequate index.

Not the least value of Professor Mollat's work is its extraordinary bibliography. In no other volume on the subject will there be found such useful references. Besides a bibliographical introduction of twenty-seven pages, each chapter gives an extensive list of primary and secondary sources bearing upon the contents, and there are specific references on almost every page.

LEO F. STOCK.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Le Père Joseph De Paris, Capucin, L'Éminence Grise. Vols. I, II. By the Abbé LOUIS DEDOUVRES. (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, Éditeur. 1932. Pp. xiii, 462; 365.)

The author of these two stately volumes is to be commended for having accomplished a task never yet so thoroughly done. As R. F. O'Connor pointed out in 1912, the eminent Capuchin, Père Joseph, "the eye, ear, and right hand of his masterful minister," has too long been ignored or unappreciated by our age. Due to the caricature of Père Joseph created by Bulwer Lytton in his *Richelieu*, an otherwise fine drama, no small harm has come to the memory of this Capuchin friar who, as the present author maintains, has exercised the greatest influence upon his own and other times both in the field of politics and religion.

Père Joseph, known in the world as François Le Clerq du Tremblay, was born in Paris on November 4, 1577. Both parents, Jean Le Clerq and Marie de La Fayette, were of noble birth. As a child François was sent to Boncourt College where he made exceptional progress both in piety and learning. In 1594, he entered the University of Paris where

he pursued the study of modern languages and other higher studies. Later he made a tour of Europe, returning to France for admission at court as Baron de Maffliers, a title he had inherited from his maternal grandfather, Claude de La Fayette. In 1597, he served with distinction at the siege of Amiens and accompanied ambassador Hurault de Maisse to London. In England he was especially struck by the prevalence of Protestantism which made him yearn for the propagation of the faith. Returning to France he was a changed man. Always distinguished for piety and recollection, he henceforth withdrew from court festivities and sought companionship only with persons of great piety such as M. Pierre de Bérulle, later cardinal and founder of the Oratorians in France, and M. Du Val, a learned doctor of the Sorbonne.

At one time in this early period he decided to retreat to the Grande Chartreuse and abandoned the idea only upon failure to receive the consent of his mother who was greatly grieved at his bent of mind. This time, however, struck by the happy medium of contemplation and apostolic activity which distinguished the Capuchin life, he made his way to their convent of Saint-Honoré where he begged admission of the Father Guardian, Benedict of Canfield. Impressed with the earnestness of the young noble, the latter gave him a letter of obedience to the novitiate at Orleans where he was received on February 2, 1599. After a year of novitiate he made his profession on February 3, 1600, into the hands of the famous Capuchin, ex-marshal of France, P. Ange Joyeuse. Ordained priest in 1604, he was soon singled out for offices of trust and importance in the Order. Successively he became lector of philosophy, master of novices, guardian of the convents of Bourges, Rennes, Chinon and Tours, and finally provincial of the Capuchin Province of Touraine.

Throughout his career Père Joseph manifested the greatest interest both in ecclesiastical and state affairs. The dream of his life was the deliverance of the Holy Land from Turkish domination. From 1616-1625, he devoted his best energy to this project, hastening to Rome in 1616, to interest the Italian princes and to lay his plans before Pope Paul V. The latter seconded the friar's move and, by 1624, a force of 60,000 was ready for mobilization. But the project was indefinitely abandoned owing to the divisions among the rulers and the lack of simple, childlike but daring faith that characterized the Middle Ages. While working for the crusade against the Turk, Père Joseph was not blind to the presence of paganism and heresy elsewhere. In 1622, he was appointed Apostolic Commissary of the Foreign Missions and in this capacity he was instrumental in sending missionaries to Constantinople, Greece, Persia, Palestine, Syria, Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, England and America.

As statesman the highest rank is also conceded to Père Joseph. Not only was he largely responsible for the appointment of Richelieu to the premiership of France but he also to a great extent moulded and directed

the policies of the cardinal. Frequently was the Capuchin sent on peace missions to Italy, England, Germany and Spain. As a result of his farsightedness and good judgment he repeatedly warded off war from France, crushed factions opposed to Church and State, strengthened and consolidated France and raised it to the rank of a first-class power. Richelieu tried to prevail on the Capuchin to accept a bishopric and even went so far as to propose his name in Rome for the cardinalate. But the friar staunchly refused every chance of promotion in his wholehearted endeavor to remain loyal to Franciscan simplicity and poverty amid his royal associations.

In the two volumes before us the author has produced a veritable encyclopedia on Père Joseph's life and work in one of the most difficult and interesting periods not only of French but of world history. If Richelieu was the power behind the throne, "His Grey Eminence," Père Joseph, was the power behind Richelieu, studying the situation, peering into the future, guiding the policy, even if overshadowed by the towering figure in crimson and gold. One defect in the work we cannot fail to notice: it lacks an index which in these days of busy research is indispensable.

CLAUDE L. VOGEL, O. M. Cap.

Capuchin College,
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Pugin: A Mediaevel Victorian. By MICHAEL TRAPPES-LOMAX. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. viii, 358. 15/.)

Something of the life and sparkle of a sprightly romance pervades this clever biography of a half-forgotten genius of the early nineteenth century, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin. He inherited talent for drawing and his precocious mind made him adept at many things—mathematics, caricature, decoration and craftmanship. Scarcely a great architect, he was nevertheless a potent force in the architectural development of his time.

Gothic has had many ardent defenders but none so militant as Pugin. His ecstatic love for the Pointed was matched by an inordinate hatred of all things Renaissance. His infatuation for the delicate filagree of a rood-screen was as extreme as his distaste for the Dome of St. Peter's. To him, Gothic was Catholic art and all else, pagan. His aim was to restore Gothic art to its pristine glory and richness and thereby bring England back to the Catholic faith. His understanding of the style seems to have been unusually profound and his wisdom in artistic things coupled with the power to articulate his thoughts made it possible for him to anticipate Ruskin, Morris and other leaders whom the world knows better. Pugin was a modern in the sense that he believed that architecture is

a living thing and that in any day it may be made to express the spirit of the times. But he failed to realize that the England of his times was not that of the age of cathedral building. He did much, however, to adapt the medieval to the structures it fell his lot to design. His sense of plan was perhaps deficient and many of his works are crowded, congested, showing incapacity to deal with the third dimension. Unlike Ruskin, he was a producer, a builder, a self-critic. His relationships with Lord Shrewsbury show an interesting side light upon architectural practice and the anecdotes related are as characteristic of the present as of the "Victorian."

As a medievalist it was his misfortune to appear in a period peculiarly drab and unsympathetic to any change, notably a revival of the Catholic artistic ideals of the thirteenth century. But, as a biography, the "Mediaeval Victorian" is most interesting reading—from the boyhood spent in the "Blue-Coat" school to the frenzy of the climax of the professional career of this amazing personage.

FREDERICK V. MURPHY.

Catholic University of America.

Abbot Columba Marmion, a Master of the Spiritual Life, 1858-1923. By Dom RAYMUND THIBAUT. Tr. by Mother Mary St. Thomas. (St. Louis: Herder. 1932. Pp. xiv, 488. $5.00.)

Bishop Hedley and the late Abbot of Maredsons in Belgium are selected by Abbot Butler in his recent popular *Ways of Christian Life* as the outstanding modern writers on Benedictine spirituality. Dom Raymund's glowing admiration for Abbot Columba is writ large on every page. He reiterates to such a degree his abbot's complex Irish nature, rich ardent personality, wonderful fidelity to grace, by which (p. 404) "no doubt the angels were enraptured," that the reader wearies of the over-emphasis and lets escape a sigh of relief at the very end (p. 484) when Cardinal Mercier, for years Abbot Marmion's penitent and friend, spices his praise with an honest admission that Father Columba, like all men, had his limitations, lacking administrative qualities, being impulsive, easily exuberant: defects of his race and temperament. Nevertheless we welcome this copious narrative of the way a great lover of souls practiced what he preached. If we could not apply to Abbot Marmion what St. Gregory said of St. Benedict: "He could not write otherwise than he lived," it would be difficult to understand the spiritual power exerted by his three books: *Christ the Life of the Soul, Christ the Ideal of the Monk, Christ in His Mysteries,* which radiate the holiness of the Scriptures, as accommodated to modern needs both in and out of the cloister.

While through his native Irish genius and the scholarly traditions of his Belgian monastery Dom Marmion had acquired an uncommonly ready

knowledge of the New Testament, especially St. Paul, and a synthetic grasp of dogmatic theology, it may be said that he belonged to the voluntaristic school of ascetical theology, tending to exhibit Christian truths to the intellect in such appealing manner that they immediately grip the will. No one can say that he fails to recognize the validity of the rational approach to faith, the principle of *Intelligo ut credam*; but his bent is toward that other sound principle, *Credo ut intelligam.*

The numerous excerpts given us of the Abbot's letters reveal a capacity for personal friendship with those souls in whose behalf he exercised his sacerdotal ministry. He was like St. Paul in loving his brethren not only for the love of Jesus but for the love of themselves. He shared the great apostle's marvellous gift of sympathy, and possessed the faculty of pouring out his own affections and winning the affections of others. Dom Raymund tell us (p. 206) "as soon as he felt that the one that he had just come in touch with was seeking God, he was ready to sign the pact of friendship in order to help that soul to find God." His was a cordial, communicative nature. Those who came to him he welcomed, "fixing attentive eyes straight upon them." Allied to his tender human affectionateness which gave him magnetic spiritual power over souls was his Irish joviality. Starting on a begging tour for his poor monks, so hard hit under the occupation of Belgium during the world war, he was for lack of passport refused admittance into England. The idea struck him to look for an Irishman among the officials; then he declared (p. 184): "I am Irish, and the Irish never have a passport except for hell, and it isn't there I'm wanting to go." This sally provoked a burst of laughter, and he was allowed to pass. His deep humility was another source of strength to himself and a powerful weapon by which he broke down pride and other moral miseries in others. With him compunction was one of the purest forms of love. A charming aspect of his humility was his honesty. He was wont to speak frequently of himself and reveal the movements of his heart, but his ego was not the detestable self-conscious ego of the conceited; it was the lovable, honest ego of the truly humble, who are able to look at themselves objectively. His early life in Ireland, his conception of the monastic ideal and abbatial authority, his love of the liturgy, his intimate friendship with Cardinal Mercier, his spiritual influence with priests at Louvain by means of conferences and individual direction; the phenomenal fruitfulness of his retreats in Belgium, England, Scotland and Ireland; his efforts in union with Mercier to save Tyrrell; his zeal for the conversion of sinners; his solicitude for the encouragement and perfection of consecrated women in the cloister—Dom Raymund brings abundant evidence to bear on all these aspects of his Abbot's career. In another generation when his contemporaries, with whom he came in close contact or conflict, have joined him—to use a

quotation he cherished—*in sinu Patris*, when the necessity has passed of withholding circumstances through discretion, one may venture the hope that a competent hand may offer in an historical setting a more objective biography of this interesting character so richly endowed by race and by grace. The volume may well be recommended to the hundreds of American priests Dom Columba directed spiritually in the American College at Louvain.

Dom BENEDICT BROSNAHAN, O. S. B.

St. Anselm's Priory,
Brookland, D. C.

Monseigneur Freppel: sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses oeuvres, son influence et son temps, d'après des documents inconnus et inédits, 1827-1891. By EUGÈNE TERRIEN, Priest of the Diocese of Angers. (Angers, 1931-32. 2 vols. Pp. iii, 659, 785.)

"The tumultuous Bishop of Angers," as a Nuncio once called him, or the latest uncanonized "Doctor" of the Church of France, as some one else has styled him, well deserved a full-length literary portrait.

Charles-Émile Freppel was an Alsatian, always tenderly fond of his small homeland, but having throughout his life, as he himself said, only two great passions in his soul: the love of the Church and of France. His public career falls into two equal halves. From his ordination in 1849 down to 1870 he was prëminently the theologian, apologist, and teacher. An able and conspicuous polemicist at twenty-two, professor at the Sorbonne at the age of thirty, he gave for twelve years brilliant courses on the masters of French sacred eloquence and on the Fathers of the early Church which have been called the most beautiful lectures heard at the Sorbonne during the nineteenth century, while meantime his occasional courses of sermons at Notre Dame, before the Imperial court, and elsewhere rivalled the fame of Lacordaire. In 1869 and 1870 he played a prominent rôle at the Vatican Council as theologian and defender of Papal Infallibility.

During the second period of his public life (1870-91), he was primarily the zealous bishop, indefatigably spending himself for every good work but especially for religious education, launching the first modern Catholic university in France, at Angers. But this was also the age of heroic combats. Strenuously opposed all his life to Gallicanism and to doctrinaire Liberalism, he now showed himself the most aggressive leader of what were sometimes called the *Catholiques autoritaires* against "Liberal Catholicism." Even more he distinguished himself, especially during his last eleven years, as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, as the eloquent, fearless, and masterly defender of Catholic rights and Catholic truth

against the anti-religious and anti-clerical tendencies that were gaining the upper hand in the Third Republic.

While several short biographies of Mgr. Freppel appeared in the years immediately following his death, none of them could challenge comparison with the work which the Abbé Terrien has now given us. It is, in the first place, extremely well documented, with the aid of the copious manuscripts and thousands of letters of Freppel's preserved in the diocesan archives of Angers, much correspondence secured from private sources, the use of the *Archives Nationales*, the archives of the Archdiocese of Paris and of the Sorbonne, the newspapers, etc. Moreover, the author is not held in leash by the fear that haunted some earlier writers on the subject, that *le temps n'est pas venu de tout dire*. While in general highly sympathetic towards the great Bishop of Angers, he does not ignore his shortcomings: his perhaps excessive pugnacity, his intransigence, a measure of personal ambition, brusqueness and lack of savoir faire. (Another writer might censure more strongly Freppel's "die-hard" attachment to royalism, his opposition to Leo XIII's policy of *ralliement* or to "Social Catholicism" as represented by Albert de Mun.) He describes without evasions or ambiguities, but also without acerbity, the unhappy divisions and dissensions that rent the Church in France at that time. These two volumes, tracing in full and scholarly fashion the life and work of a man intimately connected with the whole religious, intellectual, and political life of his age, form a notable contribution to the history of the Church in France under the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

R. H. Lord.

St. John's Seminary,
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The American Catholic Who's Who (1934-1935), with a complete Geographical Index. Preface by George Hermann Derry. (Detroit: Walter Romig and Co. 1933. Pp. xv, 513. $3.75.)

Here is the volume thousands of Catholics both in the United States and abroad have been waiting for, ever since the last venture, that by the late Georgiana Pell Curtis in 1910, ceased to appear after the first issue. It contains short sketches of six thousand prominent living American Catholics and has taken a corps of workers almost four years for its completion. Few realize how costly such a production is; and while the price may at first sight seem high, the contents of the volume soon reveal its worth and its usefulness. The book is to be continually revised by a staff chosen for that purpose. All who use it are invited to assist in perfecting and in add-

ing to the sketches, and a biennial edition is promised by the publishers. There is hardly any class of readers in America to whom the volume will not be of practical value. Dr. George Herman Derry's Preface points out one unique character of a Catholic *Who's Who*. With every accidential difference imaginable in the lives of these 6000 Catholics of the United States—differences of political viewpoint, business activities, scientific pursuits, and literary and artistic trends,—here the reader will find "a muster-roll of men and women, from every conceivable avenue of human interest and occupation, gathered into this group on the principle of their absolute unanimity of conviction on the profoundest problems that can engage the mind of man,—the origin, nature, the meaning and purpose of human life."

There are many surprises in the book. Names appear of those the generality of Catholics had not realized as belonging to the household of the Faith. Hundreds of sketches reveal the fact that a large proportion of these leaders find their family origins in pre-revolutionary and early pioneer days. A long list might easily be made of Catholic men and women who have achieved the highest eminence in the fine arts, in drama, in music, in technical research, and in literature. The geographical index added to the volume (pp. 461-510), giving the names by state and town, will undoubtedly give rise to some interesting social studies on the distribution of Catholic achievement in our country. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW bespeaks a generous and widespread sale of the volume and full cooperation with the publishers in making the next edition as complete and as accurate as all would wish to see such a biographical dictionary become.

PETER GUILDAY.

Catholic University of America.

Colonial Americans in Exile: Founders of British Canada. By A. G. BRADLEY. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1932. Pp. 288. $3.75.)

This book is a sketch of American Loyalists, with special reference to their rôle during American revolutionary days, in the settlement of Upper Canada and the Maritime Provinces, and in the War of 1812. While much history lies unfolded, the story is so peppered with personal equations, that it becomes not so much a reliable survey as a vehicle for a clan and a clique, and at the same time, a broadside on Americans.

The volume is filled with the traditional European belittling of American politics, culture, and military. The author tries to twist the story of the Revolution into a justification of England's part on the grounds that England did not want to be bled by her Colonies, and then he pokes fun

at Americans for being led into revolt by New England smugglers, who feared that cheap tea would wreck their free-trading.

To explain the Revolution historians have swung away from social, political, and economic causes to the religious. Mr. Bradley is aware of this, but did not see fit to give it suitable treatment. He did not write up the effect of pre-revolutionary ideas and action on British concessions between 1763-1774 to constitutional government in Canada. This should afford a defense for American actions. Not much is narrated about the progress made by George III towards absolutism. The dominant fact in English political history at this time was the ascendancy of the king over Parliament and ministers. This fact, undoubtedly known by the author, was not used to give any support to the American opposition. The book is marred, not so much by a broad Toryism, as by that particularly limited kind, which has been called filio-pietistic.

The author has succeeded in telling a good story about the Loyalists, those Americans who founded the fourteenth state. In the story of the War of 1812 he rises to new heights of exultation for Loyalists and of derision for Americans. After reading the book, it seems that the main title of it might easily substitute *Paradise* for *Exile*. While the work is written for general readers, it will and ought to be read by the American select-men, in order that they may know something more of the animosity some Canadians, and many Englishmen, entertain towards Americans. A shudder comes in thinking of future conflicts, if any, if the views expressed are representative of many Canadians. The old idea of a thousand-mile border without bristling guns would be shattered and replaced by bristling ideas.

PETER LEO JOHNSON.

St. Francis, Wisc.

The Catholic Church in Connecticut. By Rt. Rev. THOMAS J. DUGGAN, D.D., Vicar-General of the Diocese of Hartford. (New York: The States History Company. 1930. Pp. xx, 622.)

The Diocese of Hartford has been exceptional among American dioceses for the number and superior quality of its historians. Over forty years ago the late Bishop Shahan, as a young priest and chancellor of the diocese, began collecting material for the early history of Catholics in Connecticut, and the rich results of his researches among the town records and archives supplied much of the material for the first history of the diocese produced by the late Rev. H. O'Donnell in 1902. More recently the Most Rev. Maurice F. McAuliffe, Auxiliary Bishop of the diocese, completed a study of the Catholics in Connecticut in colonial times. The present historian, who has been for over thirty years editor of *The Catholic*

Transcript, official organ of the diocese, and as a priest an eye-witness of the past forty years of diocesan history, offers this latest record of the past with full acknowledgment to his predecessors on whose materials he has drawn.

This history of the diocese is composed of two parts: the first devoted to the Missionary period, which covers the early Church history of the state from the days of the first American bishop down to the formation of the See of Hartford; it also contains the studies of the bishops who have held the See and what pertains to the diocese as a whole. The second part, the Parochial period, contains the separate histories of the parishes, now two hundred thirty odd in number, arranged according to counties. The illustrations include all of the bishops of the See, all of the pastors in charge of parishes when the book was written, many of the churches and diocesan institutions. The volume is well printed and appears in compact and portable form.

Monsignor Duggan has had to wrestle with many of the problems which confront the writer of history, when, overwhelmed with historical material, he is as much hampered by the limits of space as he is concerned with holding the interest of his readers. It is not to be supposed that all will agree that the general plan or design of the book is ideal, and especially what pertains to the general as compared with the parochial history of the diocese, but all will readily admit that the story of Catholicism in Connecticut has here been interestingly told. With true journalistic touch, with an eye to every human interest, Monsignor Duggan strikes off characteristic notes to describe those whom he considers to have been the makers of Church history in Hartford and is especially graphic in his pictures of Bishops McMahon, Tierney and Nilan. His own acquaintance with the clergy of the past and present generations has enabled him to assize and evaluate their services as well as to depict their characters. This is notably true of that venerable line of priests always to be revered in the annals of the diocese as its builders. If he is not the "dry as dust" historian, nor the tedious chronicler of events, neither is he the recorder merely of material progress or growth. Spiritual values are never overlooked, and the reader even of the parochial histories, which are necessarily abridged, is not permitted to lose sight of those larger issues involving the Church diocesan or universal in which the clergy and laity played a part.

PATRICK J. MCCORMICK.

Catholic University of America.

The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America (1523-1857). By JOSEPH A. GRIFFIN, Ph. D. (Washington: Catholic University of America. 1932. Pp. xvi, 235.)

This dissertation of Father Griffin is the first detailed study of an important phase of American church history. The rather involved title does not bring out the scope of the work. "The Contribution of Belgium" comprises not only the activities of Belgian-born missionaries but also of others who received their training on Belgian soil. Even the labors of missionaries are recounted who had no connection with Belgium save the association and collaboration with Belgian priests in this country (pp. 53, 119. "America" spells mostly United States throughout the work. Missionaries working in other parts of America are only treated in as far as they had direct influence on the development of the Church in the United States. The laity is not considered but for a few benefactors of the American missions.

The treatment of the subject is very comprehensive and the matter well digested. The presentation of the matter, however, consists mainly in a bare recital of facts: a series of telling events are strung together without much effort at literary art. Certainly the nature of the subject-matter is greatly to be blamed for this simple matter-of-fact method. There are a few sections where the author had to deal with bodies of missionaries who formed a compact body. Mostly the chapters are made up with the narration of the activities of missionaries who had no other connection besides space and time. It stands to reason that we cannot look for much unity and continuity in these sections. The author is very accurate in his statements. The cases are rare, where he fails to give the dates which are appropriate (pp. 15, 121, 122).

Certainly we cannot expect to find a work like this without mistakes. The author puts down as the first Belgian missionaries in America the three Franciscan Friars who landed in Mexico on August 13, 1523. Yet it is an established fact that thirty years before two Belgian lay-brothers of the Franciscan Observant Friars, John de la Deledeuille and John Cosin, accompanied Columbus on his second voyage in 1493 and labored five years among the Indians of the Antilles preaching Christian doctrine to them in their native tongues (J. Coll, *Colón y la Rabida*, Madrid, 1892, p. 271; Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens*, Freiburg, 1909, p. 501). Accordingly the contribution of Belgium goes back to 1493 and not 1523. The commission of Cardinals *de propaganda fide* (mentioned on p. 17) sent in 1600 Capuchins to Algiers to ransom Christian slaves, and Pope Clement VIII sent in 1603 Capuchin missionaries to Persia (Fredegand Callaey, O. M. Cap., *L'Apostolat des Frères-Mineurs Capucins*, in Liber Memorialis, Rome, 1928, pp. 32, 37). The Recollects were not forced to give up their ancient missions in Canada

"on account of lack of means and subjects" nor did the Jesuits "remain and carry on the work" (p. 37). In 1629 both the Recollects and Jesuits were carried off to France by the British (Leclercq translated by Shea, vol. I, New York, 1881, pp. 304-306). In 1630 the Recollects returned to Nova Scotia and in 1632 the Jesuits to Quebec.

The author overlooked certain facts which should have been mentioned. In Louisiana labored the Belgian Capuchin Prosper of Arlon from 1737 till his death on July 13, 1782. Three other Capuchins from Luxemburg which then formed part of Belgium were active in Louisiana during the same period. The two Belgian Trappist Fathers Guny and Donche about whom the author could find "no further record" (p. 122) returned to Europe in 1815 (*Memoire du Père Vincent de Paul*, Bellefontaine,, 1824, translated by A. M. Pope, Charlottetown, P. E. I., 1886, pp. 10-12). On p. 168 it should be mentioned that Bishop Rese's mind was affected, which explains his mismanagement.

The author adopts Bayer's opinion that the "first settlers of New York were Belgians" (p. xiii, note). Yet this theory is just as wide of the mark as the other theory that they all were Dutch. As a matter of fact the original settlers of the Dutch colony on the Hudson were a cosmopolitan race. We find among them besides Dutch, also Flemings, Walloons, Frenchmen, Germans from all German provinces of Germany, Switzerland, Alsace, Bohemia and Moravia, Danes, Swedes, Englishmen, and even Italians (cf. marriage records of the Dutch Reformed church of New York). The interpolations of Hennepin's book were due to a deeper reason than "desire of greater gain on the part of publishers and others" (p. 43). They were intended to bolster the claim of King William III of England to the Mississippi Valley. The author would have found a better bibliography of Hennepin's works in Thwaites' reprint of the *New Discovery* (Chicago, 1903, pp. xlv-lxiv of vol. I). The author repeats the statement that "Father John McKenna was chaplain of the Scotch Highlanders in the Mohawk Valley" (p. 60). Martin I. J. Griffin pointed out long ago that these Catholic settlers were not provided with a chaplain, as long as they lived in the state of New York (*Catholics and the American Revolution*, vol. II, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 146).

The bibliography (pp. 223-230) is very exhaustive. Thwaites' reprint of Hennepin's *New Discovery* containing in the introduction a biography and bibliography of Hennepin should be added. Besides a few articles which appeared in periodicals were overlooked. I only noticed one printing mistake (p. xiii) "Baravia." Despite the few defects pointed out, the work of Father Griffin merits the highest commendation. It should serve as a model as well as an inspiration to others, so that they will give us just as an authoritative an account of the contribution of other European countries to the Church in America.

Wheeling, W. Va. JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By JOSEPH GURN. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1932. Pp. 312.)

Church history is to a large extent the essence of the biographies of those members whose lives and deeds are the expression of belief in and loyalty to the Church and her Divine Founder. "By their fruits you shall know them" is as true of her individual members as it is of the Church itself. In fact, it is by the influence of such members of the Church that she, as a social organization and as the Mystical Body of Christ, can reach out and make religion with its dogmas, its duties and its sanctions the basic moral factor of civic and national life. That each period of the history of the Church has furnished indisputable evidence of this can be seen in the lives of Constantine, St. Louis, Sir Thomas More, and other such sages, "Whose deeds crown history's pages, and time's great volume make."

It is this lesson that the Catholic men of the United States can learn from the life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton as given to us from the hand and pen of Joseph Gurn. From these 312 pages our Catholic men can learn that such ideals as the love of country, defense of her rights and charity to all can be the basis of true citizenship only when they are shot through and backed up by the strength and worth that religion alone can provide. The author has portrayed the last of the signers of the Declaration as a gentleman with a stress on the characteristic *gentle* that is arresting and instructive. He has neatly made that term convey the qualities of which it is composed—refinement, culture, grace, poise, temperance, courage and urbanity in the finest sense.

As a statesman and loyal citizen, Charles Carroll is shown to have been a peer to the best of his own time and in fact to any our country has yet produced. He is seen in these pages to be a staunch supporter for the rights of his country, when threatened from without or within. He used his wealth, time and knowledge for the welfare of his country—a sharp contrast to those who then and since have used their country for self aggrandizement. His sense of duty and his love of country did not make him flinch from putting in jeopardy the largest fortune then existing in the Colonies. This he did when he affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence.

The uplifting influences of his Catholic faith gave to his life as a private citizen and as a statesman a warmth, a virility and an urbanity that demanded and secured a respect from those who not only differed from him in religion but had been taught to suspect the very religion he professed. His life and example, his courage and charity, his love of truth and his readiness to defend it in a calm, cool and intelligent manner silenced the unconvinced and won to him those who, even in those days when religious bigotry ran so high, were possessed of what we today

proudly call American broadmindedness. Although proud of his religion he never traded on it in his entire career of public life. The respect held for him by his fellow-citizens grew with the years. "During the years in which Charles Carroll of Carrollton lived as the last of the signers he was venerated as Pater Patriae with a universality and a warmth which left no doubt as to the place he occupied in the hearts of the American people."

Well can we say that his biographer has done a great honor to this outstanding American and loyal son of Holy Church. He has made the moral, religious, civic and gentlemanly qualities of this great character of the Church here in America appeal to our imagination and invite our imitation.

LEO L. MCVAY.

Catholic University of America.

American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Papal States (1847-1867). By Sister LORETTA CLARE FEIERTAG. (Washington: Catholic University of America. 1933. Pp. vii, 188. $1.50.)

The settlement of the Roman Question by the treaty of February 11, 1929, and the creation of the City of the Vatican over which the pope enjoys complete and absolute sovereignty gave rise to many conjectures, chief among which was the future relations between the United States and the new Vatican City. The rumors that the United States government had under consideration the question of the advisability of resuming official diplomatic relations with the papal government were so persistent and common that a large number of letters of protests and of approval of such action were received by the State Department in Washington. Though these rumors and fears have since passed away, the recent study of Sister Loretta Clare Feiertag is timely, and may be found useful in any future discussion of this delicate and interesting question. It must be pointed out at once, however, that whether or not a diplomatic representative from America will ever again be accredited to the Holy See will depend largely upon the benefits America will derive from such official intercourse. Certain it is that as a temporal state, the City of the Vatican is too insignificent. It is much smaller in area and population than San Marino, Andorra, or Monaco, or, to bring it nearer to us, only one-sixth the size of New York's Central Park. Hence, should diplomatic relations ever be opened with the papacy, the reasons will not be the same as those which led to the sending of an American minister to Rome in 1848.

The chief sources used by Sister Loretta Clare are the daily and weekly newspapers of the period. There is, however, a marked inconsistency in

the number of newspapers consulted in the different years; *e. g.*, not one newspaper was examined for the year 1857; one paper each for 1855 and 1856; two each for 1852, 1858, 1862; three each for 1854 and 1860; four for 1851; seven each for 1850, 1859, and 1865; eight for 861; twelve each for 1847, 1853, and 1866; fifteen for 1863; sixteen for 1849; eighteen for 1864; nineteen for 1848; and twenty-three for 1867. Though a greater uniformity in the number of papers consulted in the different years would probably not have changed the results materially, the study would be more complete had at least five newspapers reflecting different shades of public opinion been consulted for any one year. As it is, most of the journals examined were from the East; the newspapers most frequently referred to are the New York *Daily Tribune* and the *Herald.* This is because these two papers contained more foreign news and were more liberal in their editorial comments. The study might have given more objective results had the author consulted more anti-popery literature—certainly this would have served to balance the quotations from the Catholic papers—the *Freeman's Journal,* the *Catholic Mirror,* and the *Catholic Telegraph.* The *Congressional Globe* is extensively quoted in connection with the speeches delivered by members of Congress for and against the opening and the closing of the American mission to Rome. There are, too, extensive references and quotations from the recent publication of Dr. Leo F. Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Despatches,* containing the diplomatic correspondence between the two countries.

The reviewer finds some important topics inadequately treated; others entirely omitted. In Chapter III, for example, the author should explain more fully and perhaps more objectively just why the American people turned against the pope in 1848-49. Was it religious prejudice, or was it the inability of the pope himself to defend and maintain his liberal reforms that turned Americans against his temporal rule? If the former is the answer, how does one account for the enthusiasm and demonstrations for the pope during the early days of his reign? If the latter, why did Americans fail to understand and appreciate the position of the pope? Is it or is it not true that most Americans continued to make a distinction between the pope as a spiritual and temporal power?

Amongst the topics that should be included or discussed more fully are: (1) Minister Cass as the intermediary agent between the French and the Roman Republicans; (2) aid and assistance to the wounded by the Americans in Rome in 1849; (3) protest to General Oudinot by foreign representatives, including Freeman and Brown, American consuls at Ancona and Rome, respectively; (4) attitude of America on French intervention in Roman Republic; (5) the closing of the American chapel in Rome in 1851; (6) the reception accorded to Avezzana and Garibaldi on their arrival in

America after the fatal days of Rome in 1849; (7) the confiscation of Diodati's bible by the Catholic Church; (8) the violent and profound sensation created by the abduction of the Jewish boy, Mortara, by the Church authorities; (9) the censure of the American Consul, Cushman, for joining the papal army in 1867 against Garibaldi; (10) donations and loans to the pope from America in 1867; (11) Americans in the papal army in 1867; (12) the efforts made in 1869 and 1870 in Congress to reopen the American mission in Rome.

The author seems partial to those who favored the pope. For example, in referring to Martin, the first American chargé in Rome, the author states that the tone of his

> despatch is in marked contrast to that of the greater part of the American newspapers on the subject of the Pope, Austria, the Jesuits, the constitution, the uprising in Naples, Sicily—in short, the Italian situation generally. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that Martin's was a mind trained to search out the explanation of things as they are, to analyze a situation, to seek a solution of a problem. His education and his employment had prepared him to understand Italian political conditions with all other possibilities and ramifications. American newspaper reports, on the contrary, were furnished by persons slightly acquainted with European problems, persons satisfied with a surface view, sometimes looking for the sensational, and often predisposed to fraternize with those who called themselves liberals or republicans, but who actually were radicals or revolutionists.

Admitting the truth of all this, the question might seriously be asked whether Martin too was not greatly influenced by the fact of his having been recently converted to the Roman Catholic religion. True that Margaret Fuller was "an impetuous writer," but one could hardly call her a "radical" in the accepted sense of the term to-day. Nor does it seem fair to refer to the Italians in the United States who aided in the formation of opinion and who favored the unification of Italy and therefore the deposition of the Pope from his temporal powers, as revolutionists. Even Father Ventura is described a revolutionist merely because he favored the Italian liberals.

Sister Loretta Clare is not entirely correct when she states on page 163 that "the procedure in Congress on the question of making appropriations for the diplomatic mission in Rome was characterized by some religious prejudice, more political manipulation, and no apparent reasoning on the part of the victorious group." The truth is that Congress failed to continue the appropriation for an American mission to Rome presumably as an economy measure, but in reality because the profound sympathy for Italy in America urged the members of Congress to clear the way for an early official recognition of the rule of King Victor Emanuel II over Rome.

On the whole, however, Sister Loretta Clare's study is interesting, useful, well-written, and informative. The only serious objection to the book, aside from its incompleteness, is her inability to interpret more objectively the opinion voiced in America on the struggle of the Italians for unification.

HOWARD R. MARRARO.

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New York City.

Gaetano Bedini: an Episode in the Life of Archbishop John Hughes (1853-1854). By PETER GUILDAY. (New York: *Historical Records and Studies.* Vol. XXIII. 1933. Pp. 87-170.)

To those who have never understood why the short visit of Archbishop Bedini to this country in 1853-1854 stirred up so much bigotry and criticism, Dr. Guilday's sketch of this much-maligned prelate will make these two points clear. The sketch will form part of his forthcoming *Life and Times of Archbishop Hughes (1797-1864).* Owing to the appearance of Marraro's recent volume: *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861* (New York, 1932), as well as Stock's *United States Ministers to the Papal States, 1848-1868* (Washington, D. C., 1933), this biographical account of Cardinal Bedini is timely. To appreciate the facts of Bedini's visit, it is necessary first to know why he came. It was the conviction that he came for some unpatriotic or sinister purpose which inspired and, in the minds of many mistaken people, justified, the storm of opposition and the violent denunciation that greeted him. If the American people had known that he came here merely to examine and report to the Holy See on the condition of Catholicism in this country, the German, Italian and native American secret societies would have been unable to arouse the bigotry which made us so ridiculous in the eyes of the world at that time. Somebody blundered. It was announced that Bedini was on his way to Brazil and that he was merely breaking his journey with a visit to the States. Even our own bishops did not know just why the Pope's representative was here. His courtesy call on the President and the talk that the Holy Father had sent him to arrange for a papal nunciature in Washington gave the Know Nothings an abundance of highly inflammable material for a campaign against the Church. Here is an archbishop who has been engaged in a civil capacity in the States of the Church! He has been sent by the Pope to make Catholicism the religion of America! In a few months or years, Protestantism will be undermined or destroyed! The Inquisition will be established and we shall be made vassals of the Scarlet Women! These were the cries that resounded from pulpit and platform. They were headlines

in the papers and subjects for long articles in secular, religious and anti-religious magazines. Is it any wonder that there were bitterness and violence? While they were unjust, they are explainable, but they form a disgraceful episode in American history. Doctor Guilday's publication of Archbishop Bedini's reports on the conditions he found in the Church of America is one of the outstanding features of his little essay. How valuable is truth! No wonder St. Paul says, "the truth shall make you free." Doctor Guilday has given us a big little book. In 84 pages he has given more meat than an ordinary author gives in 500. And those pages are precious. It is not extravagant to call it one of the books, if not the book, of the year—from a Catholic viewpoint. Some will wish he had translated in full the French letters he quotes, but it is not hard to find a good reason why he did not. If the Catholic press appreciates this book as it should, it will give it special publicity. Every educated Catholic should have it. It is a real treasure house of authentic information, set forth in fine style by a master workman.

JOHN L. BELFORD.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Liberalism in Mexico 1857-1929. By WILFRID HARDY CALLCOTT, Professor of History, University of South Carolina. (Stanford University Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 410. $3.50.)

Informative and in the main illuminating, this account of the growth of democratic government in Mexico is in reality a continuation of the author's previous work, *The Church and State in Mexico.* Under the new title more space is alloted to a cursory treatment of the profound social, economic, and political changes which have taken place in Mexico, particularly since the Revolution of 1910. But throughout the whole, undue prominence is given to the supposedly reactionary attitude of the Church in the struggle of the Mexican people towards a more effective democracy and greater political liberty, to the extent that at times the account degenerates to a statement of the relative merits and progress of Protestantism and Catholicism.

In fifteen chapters the author attempts to trace the political, social, and economic development of Mexico from 1857 to 1929. The first eight chapters deal with Mexico before 1910, the last seven with Mexico since that time. But throughout the book the Church is made to appear as the evil genius of reaction, constantly opposing progress, maliciously watching every opportunity to check and retard the march to greater liberty; while Protestantism, although an admitted insignificant minority, is made to stand for the new regenerating force that constantly encouraged Mexican liberalism and pointed the way to the new era of political liberty, social equality, and equal opportunity for the oppressed masses. Barring this

perhaps unconscious preoccupation of the author the book contains much valuable information concerning the slow and painful growth of democracy in Mexico.

In the chapter dealing with the French Intervention too much reliance is placed on Corti, *Maximillian and Charlotte of Mexico,* a two volume work recently published containing selected documents but making no attempt to be either complete or definitive on the subject. With as much material as there is available on this episode, it is to be regretted that other sources were not used. The same is true of the sources used in connection with the Church and State difficulty in 1926 where the author failed to exercise as great a discrimination in the use of available materials as the subject requires. Marred by few typographical errors, there are two to which attention should be called: *Cachique* for *Cacique* and *Riflas* for *Rifas.*

It is interesting to note the admission of injustice in dealing with the Church. Referring to the excloistration of monastic orders the author declares: "The private character of individual priests was undoubtedly bad in very many cases, but the excloistration of the nuns of the country was justified by no such personal grounds. It was largely a political move for the purpose of weakening the power of the Church." Similarly the spoliation of the Church is admitted. "As was to be expected, some robbery took place in the handling of the valuables, and even the Cathedral of Mexico City suffered. . . . Many of the recipients of Church properties were foreigners . . . who even Mexican officials confess . . . were paying such ridiculous low prices that it was as though [they] were sold for a bowl of porridge." And the result of the spoiliation under Juarez was itself a failure. "The whole economic system was disrupted, the peon was made a very material sufferer and the greatly desired end was not yet accomplished."

At the end the author is forced to exclaim: "The attitude of the nation toward Protestantism was interesting. Certainly the enormous development expected by some did not take place. The apathy of the Mexican people was really surprising. . . . Most observers . . . thought that freethinkers and atheists were rapidly growing in numbers. . . . Protestantism, by its Anglo-Saxon division into sects, which to the Mexican are largely artificial, is sadly weakened. On the other hand, if the Mexican places any credit in such divisions, he all too often becomes a fanatic on the subject and loses a great part of his effectiveness. . . . Such unholy glee as was exhibited by certain Protestant workers over the difficulties of the Church also injured their effectiveness seriously." And all this in spite of the fact that the government subsidized the Y. M. C. A. and was frankly cooperative in every way with Protestant activity.

C. E. Castañeda,

University of Texas.

Italy in the Making 1815-1846. By G. F. H. Berkeley. (New York: Macmillan. 1932. Pp. xxx, 292. $3.25.)

This volume traces the development of Italian national sentiment during the years 1815-1846. It is a history of a nationalistic project as directed by interested intellectuals rather than a history of Italian states. Sympathy, breadth of view, and non-partisanship characterize the treatment accorded persons possessed of widely divergent views. Half of the book is concerned with individual leaders of thought; the influence of Metternich, Charles Albert, Mazzini, Gioberti, Balbo, d'Azeglio is emphasized, while that of Pope Pius IX is declared to have given an indispensable impetus to the unification movement. Two governments, Piedmont and the Papal State, receive attention as political units, and these for the reason that they alone contained the germ of independence and the possibility of leadership in a movement directed toward national consolidation. The three plans of union are considered in their origin, merits, and contribution to the final result.

The dissatisfaction in Europe consequent upon the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, with its resultant unrest, is the setting for the story of the development of Italian nationalism. Keeping in mind the prevailing contemporary conditions in continental Europe which affected quite naturally and often inevitably, conditions in the Italian peninsula, the author depicts the situation in Italy with a sympathy quite uncommon among American and English writers.

The "List of Authorities" is a valuable critical bibliography which shows the many-sidedness of the author's research. He rejoices that the happy settlement of the Roman Question has removed formidable barriers to a free discussion of the matter of the unification of Italy. The writer is convinced that the whole story has not yet been told for the reason that not all existing material has as yet been made available to the historian. In consequence of this opinion he refrains in some cases from writing with the appearance of finality. One closes this interesting book with the hope that the author's purpose to publish a second volume concerning the important years 1846-1848 may soon be realized.

Sister Loretta Clare.

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Mt. St. Joseph, Ohio.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Secretary's account of the Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION will appear, as usual, in the April number of the REVIEW. Next year's meeting will be held in Washington, D. C.

Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, president of the ASSOCIATION in 1928, is the author of *George Washington Himself,* "a common-sense biography written from his manuscripts" (Bobbs-Merrill, pp. 544).

At the November meeting of the Executive Council of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, secretary of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, and the Rev. Candida Causse, O. M. C., of France, were elected corresponding members. The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Ottawa.

The paper read at the Toronto meeting of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, by Dr. John J. Meng, on the Place of Canada in French Diplomacy of the American Revolution, appears in the November issue of *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.*

The committee appointed by the Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore, to arrange for appropriate celebration, in 1934, of the tercentenary of the founding of Maryland, decided at a recent meeting to arrange as the main feature of the celebration a field Mass to be offered, May 30, in the Baltimore city stadium. On this occasion the Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday will deliver the sermon. Another open-air Mass will be celebrated August 5, at St. Mary's, Md., when the sermon will be preached by a Jesuit. An academic affair, to be held at the Catholic University of America on a date as yet not set, will be the third general event. Minor celebrations will be held throughout Maryland during the year; there will be prize essay contests for the schools; and some programme of publication will be undertaken.

The death occurred in London on November 7 of Dom John Chapman, world famous scholar and Abbot of Downside Abbey. He was the fifth Abbot of Downside, a convert to the faith, and well known for his work in biblical criticism, patristics and early monastic history. His life was marked not only by profound scholarship, but also by deep spirituality. He gave many retreats and by correspondence guided and directed souls in all parts of the world. During his term as abbot the new priory at Worth was founded, and the regular monastic life set up. His last book, *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century,* was reviewed at length in the CATHOLIC

HISTORICAL REVIEW (XVI, 324). On December 5, the Chapter of Downside convened and chose Dom Bruno Hicks as the sixth Abbot of Downside.

Dr. Ernst Barnikol has issued a second edition of his *Zürück zum alten Glauben: Jesus der Christus* (Halle, Akademischer Verlag, pp. 66).

In the *Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul* (Oxford University Press, pp. 184), Msgr. Arthur S. Barnes gives his reasons for holding that these saints lived together before their martyrdom, that they were both put to death on the same day, and that the two bodies still remain where they were buried, under the *Confessio* in the Vatican and the Ostian Basilicas. His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell contributes a foreword.

Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine and First Christian Historian, by Dr. F. J. Foakes-Jackson, gives, in five essays, a study of the man and his writings (Cambridge, Eng., W. Heffer and Sons).

Father René Mouterde, S.J., prints in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph,* Beyrouth (Liban), Tom. XVI (1932), Fasc. 4, pp. 121-165, two syriac versions of the letter ("the Tome") of Leo I to Flavian, patriarch of Constantinople, from: (a) Nestorian manuscript of the Chaldean monastery, Notre Dame des Semences (Fonds Borgia Syriaque, Vat. nos. 81, 82), (b) Melchite manuscript (Brit. Mus. Orient. 8606).

The ever scholarly *Speculum* devotes practically its entire October number to studies of historic interest. R. S. Loomis writes on the Irish Origin of the Grail Legend; George Vernadsky on the Heresy of the Judaizers and the Policies of Ivan III of Moscow; John Starr gives a sidelight on the iconoclastic heresy in his article on an Iconodulic Legend and its Historical Basis; I. H. Stein contributes an Unpublished Fragment of Wyclif's *Confessio*; Cecil Roth explains the Feast of Purim and the Origins of the Blood Accusation; J. M. Campbell is constructively critical in his discussion of Patristic Studies and the Literature of Medieval England; J. S. P. Tatlock writes on the English Journey of the Laon Canons; C. Grant Loomis on King Arthur and the Saints; Herbert H. Coulson has a study of Twelfth-Century Transfers in the Saracen Quarter of Aquinum; and Thomas P. Oakley points out the Cultural Affiliations of Early Ireland in the Penitentials.

Conditioned upon the success of receiving 350 subscriptions at $2.50 each, the Mediaeval Academy of America contemplates the publication of a volume to be entitled *Essays in Mediaeval Civilization Supplementary to Speculum.* The purpose of this volume (to contain approximately 250 pages and 15 half-tone plates) is to expedite the appearance of a number of meritorious studies, already accepted but delayed in publication because of the space limitations of *Speculum.* Among the essays proposed for the contents of the volume are: C. R. Cheney's study of the Diocese of

Grenoble in the Fourteenth Century, E. V. Moffett's note on a Bulla of Otto III in America, and D. Sutcliffe's account of the Financial Condition of the See of Canterbury, 1279-1292.

Martinus Nijhoff announces *Erasmi Opuscula* (pp. 373), by Professor Wallace K. Ferguson, which is designed as a supplement to the edition of *Opera Omnia Erasmi,* edited by J. Clericus, 1703-1706.

Franciscan Rise and Fall, by Patrick Cowley (London, Dent, pp. 212), is described in Dr. Charles E. Raven's preface as "a challenge addressed alike to pessimism and complacency."

The origin, aim, and historical development of the Order of the Good Shepherd is set forth in *Blessed Mary of Saint Euphrasia Pelletier,* by a Religious of the Congregation (Burns, Oates and Washbourne).

The Maison de la Bonne Press of Paris is publishing an excellent series of lives of the saints—*Un saint pour chaque Jour du Mois,* which has now reached the month of July.

The Davenant Bookshop, Oxford, Eng., announces a reissue of the *Cambridge Modern History* at a greatly reduced price. The edition, however, will not include the bibliographies nor the atlas volume. The price will be 7 s. 6 d. per volume or £4 10 s. for the set of 13 volumes.

The contents of the October issue of the *Revue Histoire Ecclésiastique* include: "La conception de l'Église aux quatre premier siècles (concluded)," by Jacques Zeiller; "L'Albigeois pendant la crise de l'albigéisme (concluded)," by Louis de Lagger; and "La revéil religieux en France au début du XIX^{e} siècle (continued)," by G. Constant.

A new publication with *L'Inquisition* as its title has been recently announced by the Parisian publishing house of Desclée de Brouwer. The author is Jean Schoonjans. He includes in his study consideration of church inquisition during the Middle Ages, and of its procedure, of the inquisition maintained by the Spanish State, of the anti-Lutheran inquisition, and of the anti-Calvinist inquisition.

A November publication of Vrin (Paris) is the second volume of the *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum,* consisting of almost six hundred well-filled pages. It is being presented to the public by the Historical Institute of the Order of Preachers, with its headquarters in Rome.

Volume VIII of the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge,* published under the direction of E. Gilson and G. Théry, has appeared from the presses of J. Vrin, Paris. A summary of the contents of this volume demonstrates its great value. Included are the following essays: "Isaac's Israëli's Definition of Truth" by J. T. Muckle; "Guillaume de Moerbeke, traducteur des 'Economiques'" and "Albert le Grand et les

'Economiques' d'Aristote" by Père Mandonnet; "Roger Marston: un cas d'Augustinisme avicennisant" by Et. Gilson; "Usage et valeur des arguments probables chez Pierre d'Ailly" by Patronnier de Gaudillac; and "Un Temoin du socratisme chrétien au XV^{e} siècle: Robert Ciboule" by A. Combe. The last essay is accompanied by unedited texts.

Legal questions are concerned, either directly or indirectly, in the subject matter of two recent French works. The eminent Dominican, L. Lachance, is the author of *Le Concept de droit selon Aristote et S. Thomas.* More distinctly historical is the study which comes from the pen of J. Fleury: *Recherches historiques sur les empêchements de parenté dans le mariage canonique, des origines aux fausses décrétales.* Both books are published by Sirey, at Paris.

The Concordat of 1801, by Henry H. Walsh, is a study of the problem of nationalism (Columbia University Press).

Marthe de Noaillet (1865-1926), by Simone de Noaillet-Ponvert, is a rather elaborate biography of the woman who did much to spread in France devotion to Christ the King. It comes from the presses of Desclée de Brouwer. The Editions Spes have added two more biographies to their already large list of "lives." Dom J. B. Monnoyeur is the author of *Un Grand moine, Dom J. Mabillon,* while the second of these two publications, *L'Abbé Perreyve,* is written by the abbé Peyroux. The latter is a much more ambitious study than the first, and is thoroughly documented as well.

The canonization of Bernadette of Lourdes has called forth at least two biographies of the Saint, while more will undoubtedly follow very soon. One of them is by a local historian of Lourdes, Henri Lasserre. He has entitled his work *Bernadette, la voyante de Lourdes.* The publisher is Lethielleux (Paris). F. Duhourcau is the author of *Sainte Bernadette de Lourdes* (Grasset).

Portugal: a Pioneer of Christianity (Watford, Voss and Michael, pp. 26), is a lecture delivered by Professor Edgar Prestage at the Taylor Institute, Oxford, and at King's College, London, in which is given a survey of the missionary efforts of Portugal from the eleventh century to the present.

The October (1933) *Stimmen der Zeit* contains a good survey of the present status of priest and people in Spain by Father Herbert Becher, S. J., who writes that the mistakes of the past are being fully recognized by the clergy and laity and that their mutual relations will soon be reorganized on better and more practical lines.

The Rome of the Early Church, by the Rev. Dr. Albert G. Mackinnon, is designed to give the general reader an account of the origin and spread

of the Christian Faith in Rome during the first three centuries (London, Lutterworth Press).

The Papal Forces, by Capt. F. R. Mellor, is a brief but useful account of the guards in the Vatican (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, pp. 40).

Les Confessions du cardinal Bellarmin (Rasmussen) by Gottfried Buschbell is of some value because it throws more light upon the work and career of that new Saint, whose activities are but too little known. Another member of the Sacred College is the subject of Maurice Boutry's new book, *Intrigues et missions du Cardinal de Tencin* (Orobitg).

Italy and the Reformation to 1550, from the pen of G. K. Brown, is an attempt to trace the connection between the Catholic and "reformed" systems in Italy (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 324).

Papal Efforts for Peace under Benedict XII, 1334-1342, by Helen Jenkins, appears as a University of Pennsylvania thesis from the university press.

Burns, Oates and Washbourne have published a collection of Pius XI's *Essays in History,* selected from the Holy Father's contributions to learned journals when he was librarian at Milan and at the Vatican Library. Professor Edward Bullough has rendered the translation.

A real contribution to the history of the missions of the Far East is to be found in a new book from the pen of Robert Charlié, *Michel Boym, jésuite polonais et la Fin des Ming en Chine (1646-1662).* The publisher is Pierre Bossuet, Paris.

English Monasteries in the Middle Ages, by R. Liddesdale Palmer, presents a very careful study of monastic architecture from the Norman Conquest to the suppression by Henry VIII (London, Constable, pp. 232).

William A. Pantin has edited for the Camden Third Series, now under the control of the Royal Historical Society, Volume II of *Documents illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540* (pp. 232).

Sheed and Ward announcements include: *St. Thomas Aquinas,* by G. K. Chesterton; *Blessed Thomas More,* by Daniel Sargent; an essay *On History,* by Hilaire Belloc; the *Reformation and the Contemplative Life,* by David Mathew and Gervase Mathew, O.P.; and the *Reformation in England: Henry VIII (1509-1547),* by G. Constant.

Four additional studies of the Oxford Movement are noted: Christopher Dawson, *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement,* a reply to Mr. Geoffrey Faber's attempt to explain Newman and the movement on Freudian principles (Sheed and Ward, pp. 144); Rev. W. G. Peck, *The Social Implications of the Oxford Movement* (Scribner), the Hall Lectures for 1933;

What is the Oxford Group? by "The Layman with a Notebook" (Oxford University Press); and *The Oxford Movement and the Seventeenth Century* (pp. 79), an addition to the Oxford Movement Centenary Series of the S. P. C. K. *Newman and His Friends,* by Henry Tristram, is based upon the dedications of Newman's books (John Lane, pp. 267).

A welcome addition to Newman literature is Professor W. F. Stockley's treatment of *Newman, Education and Ireland* (Sands, pp. 218).

Recent pamphlets issued by the Catholic Truth Society include: *Becket,* by Hilaire Belloc; *Twelve Catholic Bishops and the Elizabethan Government,* by the Rev. Edward Quinn; *The Epic of the Missions,* No. 7 of the Story of the Church Series by Mother Keppel; and *Introduction to Studies in Comparative Religion,* by the Rev. Dr. E. C. Messenger. The new series of Studies in Comparative Religion will constitute fives volumes of eight essays each. In addition to the *Introduction,* listed above, the first volume will contain studies on the religion of prehistoric man and the religion of the present primitive races. Volume two will deal with the religions which provide the background for Judaism and Christianity. Volume three will study the various phases of the divine revealed religion. Volume four will continue the story of the development of Christianity; and the final volume will consider modern non-Christian religions.

The English Way, published by Sheed and Ward, includes essays on Thomas à Becket, Alfred, Thomas More, Wulstan, Campion, Crashaw, Newman, and others.

Joseph Clayton is the author of two recent biographies: *Sir Thomas More* (Burns, Oates and Washbourne), and *St. Anselm,* an addition to the Science and Culture Series (Bruce Publishing Co.).

The Life of Father Ignatius Spencer, C. P., by Urban Young, C. P., recounts the labors of this zealous English convert (Burns, Oates and Washbourne).

Supplement No. 4 of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for November is a *Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales* (4th supplement), prepared by Guy and Zirphie Parsloe (pp. 50).

Walter A. Phillips has edited the *History of the Church of Ireland from Earliest Times to the Present Day,* to be published in three volumes. Vol. I treats of the *Celtic Church* (Oxford University Press, pp. 437).

Miss Alice Curtayne has written a new life of *St. Brigid of Ireland* (Browne and Nolan, pp. 163).

Historical articles in the September issue of *Studies* concern: the Religious Situation in Spain, by E. Allison Peers; Richard Fitzralph,

Archbishop of Armagh, by Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.; Father Thomas Burke, O. P. (1830-1883), by M. H. Gaffney, O. P.; Irish Benedictines in Nuremberg, being the second paper, by the Rev. Patrick J. Barry, based on an examination of the Chronicle of the monastery of St. Aegidius; Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, Physician, Historian, Antiquarian, by Dr. James J. Walsh; and Clement XIV and the Suppression of the Jesuits, by John Macerlean, S. J.

The Old Province of Quebec, by Alfred L. Burt, comes from the University of Minnesota Press.

Seventy-five papers were read at the 48th annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Urbana, Ill., Dec. 27-29. There were, besides, several luncheon and dinner conferences, and round-table discussions. Professor Beard's presidential address on Written History an Act of Faith, appears in the January issue of the *American Historical Review.* At a joint session with the American Society of Church History, Professor E. B. Greene discussed the Clerical Profession in the American Revolutionary Era; Miss Lillian E. Fisher contributed a paper on Abad y Queipo, Bishop of Michoacán; and Dr. P. V. Norwood made an Assessment of the Oxford Movement. "The Discovery of Minnesota in 1362: an Historical Myth in the Making," was the subject of Dr. Milo Quaife's paper read at a luncheon conference of state and local historical societies.

At the 27th annual meeting of the American Society of Church History, held at Auburn, N. Y., Dec. 26-27, the following papers were read: The Meaning of Nationality at the Council of Constance, by Louise R. Loomis; Anglicanism on the Eve of the Oxford Movement, by John T. McNeill; The Conception of Authority in the Oxford Movement, by the Rev. T. L. Harris; The Influence of the Oxford Movement, by Gaius G. Atkins; The Christianization of Interest (presidential address), by Conrad H. Moehlman; and the Significance to Church History of the Change from the Temporary to the Permanent in Foreign Missions, by William D. Schermerhorn.

New offerings of P. J. Kenedy and Co. include: *Commodore John Barry, Father of the American Navy,* by Joseph Gurn; *Thomas Dongan, Colonial Governor of New York, 1683-1688,* by the Rev. Dr. Thomas P. Phelan; and *Levi Silliman Ives, Pioneer Leader in Catholic Charities,* by the Rev. Dr. John O'Grady.

A carefully prepared statement on Franco-American Diplomacy and the Treaty of Paris, 1783, by Dr. John J. Meng, is the leading contribution to the September issue of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, which also contains continuations of the War Letters of Father Peter Paul Cooney of the Congregation of Holy Cross, contributed by the Rev. Thomas McAvoy, C. S. C.; Letters of Father John

Rosseter, O. S. A., to Bishop Carroll, 1799-1808; and Dr. Elizabeth Kite's documents concerning General Washington and the French Engineers. The December issue contains an article on Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia, Its Foundations and Its Missions, by Rev. F. E. Tourscher, O. S. A.; an account of the Beginnings of Hawaiian Vicariate, by Francis Furey; a Sketch of General John de Barth Walbach, U. S. A., by Francis de Sales Dundas; and a further continuation of Miss Kite's documents.

Volume XXIII of the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Historical Society features Dr. Peter Guilday's thorough account of Gaetano Bedini, an Episode in the Life of Archbishop Hughes, 1853-1854. Other contributions to the volume are: The Torture Trail, an account of Father Jogues's journey from Three Rivers to Auriesville, Aug. 1-14, 1642, by Francis X. Talbot, S. J.; and Catholicism in New Netherland, by the Rev. Thomas Conlon.

Mid-America for October prints an account of the Missions of Lower California, by Mariano Cuevas; an examination into the Religious Affiliations of our Presidential Assassins, by Nancy McN. Ring; a discussion of Spanish Indian Policy in the West Indies and Mexico, by Elizabeth G. Thomas; and some Letters of Rt. Rev. James O. Van de Velde, second Bishop of Chicago, to the Prince Bishop of Vienna, Vincent E. Milde, reprinted from *Berichte der Leopoldinen,* and translated by the Rev. Dr. Thomas F. Cleary.

Four articles of interest to the historian appear in the December number of *Thought:* the Story of Zi Ko-Lao, by James F. Kearney, S. J.; How Nova Scotia Emancipated Catholics, by Sister Francis d'Assisi; the Ethiopic Churches, Monophysite and Catholic, by John M. T. Barton; and a Catholic Revolutionary Soldier and Patriot (John Fitzgerald), by Dr. Richard J. Purcell.

The contents of *Church History* for September are: "Was Troeltsch Right?" by George W. Richards; American Church Music Composers of the Early Nineteenth Century, by Robert G. McCutchan; and Religious Ideals and Attitudes on the Early Frontier, by Merrill E. Gaddis.

The November issue of the *Historical Bulletin* contains an acceptable discussion of the question "Is the Historian Objective?" by W. Patrick Donnelly, S. J.; a Plea for Coöperation, by Peter Guilday; a contribution on Why Columbus Sailed, by Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J.; a study of the Canterbury-York Controversy, by Charles E. Schrader, S. J.; an examination into the Religion of Erasmus, by Francis S. Betten, S. J.; and some suggestions on the Historical Possibilities of Stamp-Collecting, by Sister Frances L. Brown, S. L. The usual departments (editorial, bibliography, historical notes, and reviews) are above the standard in interest

and utility. This review of service for teachers and students of history should be better known. It is issued quarterly at St. Louis University, at the low cost of one dollar per year. Catholic teachers who do not know the *Bulletin* will find in it much to aid them in their work.

A. Grandjean's booklet, *Mathias Loras, First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa, and His Friend Jean Baptiste Marie Vianney, the Holy Parish Priest of Ars* (pp. 31), commemorates the part played by Loras and Vianney in the founding of the parish of St. John Baptist, Loire, France.

The Sisters of Charity, St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, Md., have published a booklet on Mother Seton, containing a biographical sketch and a tribute to her character written in a letter by Bishop Simon G. Bruté.

With the reorganization of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, Minn., the society's official publication, *Acta et Dicta,* after a lapse of fifteen years, has been revived. The October issue prints a foreword on the Study of History, by Archbishop John G. Murray; a statement, "After Fifteen Years," by William Busch; a review of the life of Archbishop Ireland, by Humphrey Moynihan; a sketch of Dillon O'Brien, by Thomas D. O'Brien; an article on Hennepin, the Discoverer of the Falls of St. Anthony (continued), by Francis J. Schaefer; one on Pierre Cotté, by Anna M. Keenan; some account of the Catholic Cemeteries of St. Paul, by Paul Daggett; a note on the Mendota Altar of 1842, by William Busch; and some documents, contributed by Sister Grace McDonald, O. S. B., on the Long Prairie Mission including a letter of Canon Vivaldi. Historical students will be happy to hear that copies of the five earlier volumes (1907-1918) are available. Orders should be addressed to St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

Anniversaries: 125th, Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., Nov. 14-15; 83d, German St. Vincent Orphan Association, Normandy, Mo., June 11; 75th, St. Martin's parish, Martin, Minn., June 11-13 (*History of St. Martin's Parish*); 50th, Cathedral of St. Cloud, Minn., June 6 (Irene Dunn, *History of the Cathedral of the Holy Angels, St. Cloud, Minn.*); 50th, Church of St. Eloi, Ghent, Minn., June 16 (Rev. J. M. Pilger in *Minnesota Mascot,* June 16); St. Joseph's School, Martinsburg, W. Va., Nov. 12; St. Mary's Church, Norfolk, Va., Dec. 8-10.

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th St., New York, announce for 1934 the third annual seminar in the Caribbean, to be held in Cuba in March; and the ninth annual seminar in Mexico, to be held in July.

Professor William H. Shepherd, writing in the *Hispanic American Historical Review,* for November, on Brazil as a Field for Historical Study calls attention to the fact that the country is "the sole republic in the

entire region of Hispanic America which has long been represented in the College of Cardinals at Rome."

Blessed Martin Porrès, one of the few native American saints on the calendar of the Church, has at last found a biographer in Stanislas Fumet. Desclée de Brouwer (Paris) recently announced the publication in French of Fumet's *Le Bienheureux Martin de Porrès, Serviteur prodigieux des Frères Prêcheurs (Lima, 1569-1639)*.

BRIEF NOTICES

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, *Proceedings.* Vol. 42, n. s., Pt. 2.

Besides the proceedings of the Society's annual meeting, Oct. 19, 1932, there is a valuable Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana, compiled by Edward L. Tinker; and an interesting account of Precedence at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, by Samuel E. Morison.

ARMSTRONG, HAMILTON FISH, *Hitler's Reich, The First Phase.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. 73, $1.00.)

Recent developments in Germany make this little volume especially interesting. Mr. Armstrong portrays from practical and personal observations in Germany the psychological reasons for Germany's protest against her post-war position in world politics. The Republic built on sandy soil crumbled under the onslaught of Hitler and the Nazi rebellion. The position of the Jews, the attitude of the masses, Hitler's foreign policy, and Nazi designs on adjacent territory are discussed in convincing fashion. In a comparison between Fascism and Hitlerism the author points, on the one hand, to similarity of aims and spirit, and, on the other, to dissimilarity resulting from Italian and German temperament. A discussion of the weaknesses of the Hitler regime and of Germany's aims reveals some interesting facts.

The study is well presented and furnishes a clear-sighted and frank narrative on a topic of much interest at the present time. Many of the author's conjectures as to the reaction of the German people have been verified within the past few weeks.

An appendix contains the Four Power Pact, the original Italian Draft of March 18, 1933, and the Final Text of June 7, 1933. (Sister REGINA, O. S. B.)

BICKLEY, FRANCIS, *The Pre-Raphaelite Comedy.* (London, Constable and Co., 1932, pp. x, 276.)

An American writing of Pre-Raphaelitism would have hesitated to label it comedy, lest his doing so lead his readers to the conclusion that he had approached the subject with a disposition unfavorably predisposed. An American reading Mr. Bickley's treatment of the matter feels that though the title of the book is unhappily chosen, the handling of the theme is sufficiently objective and none the less well done. The author is not unfavorable; nor does he read into the movement too much of his own subjective interpretation. What prompts him to characterize the brotherhood of artists as comedy is perhaps William Rosetti's statement made in 1853, two years after a set of resolutions had been drawn up: "The solemn code of rules which I find attached to these sheets reads now as almost comic" (p. 187). This, however, hardly warrants the use of so unseemly a title, for whatever the

vagaries into which the youthful artists plunged, and recognizing later, deplored, their sincerity of purpose cannot be doubted.

Mr. Bickley need not apologize that his work is "largely based on the books of others." He has gathered together in a scholarly way nearly three hundred pages of instructive information on such interesting persons as the Rosettis, Holman Hunt, Millais, Ford Madox Brown, and others who constituted their circle; he has given a concise history of the artistic development of these people; he has collected valuable facts on many other personalities less widely known yet connected with the movement to a greater or lesser degree. All this and much more he has developed into a very readable volume. In a word, *The Pre-Raphaelite Comedy* is at once a picture of an age and a commentary on life and manners. It is well worth the careful study of those interested in the subject. (SYLVESTER LEY.)

BOWMAN, WILLIAM DODGSON, *The Story of "The Times."* (New York, Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1931, pp. ix, 342.)

Nearly a century and a half the *London Times* has been published, during many decades of which period it has been thought of by many Englishmen as a national institution. The first number, under the title of the *Daily Universal Register*, appeared in 1788, during a lull in British affairs, after Great Britain had adjusted herself to the loss of the American colonies, and just a year before the French Revolution. The Industrial Revolution played a rôle in its fortunes when in 1812 a steam press was secretly installed and an edition as secretly turned out with its use, to forestall the desperate indignation of the printers, whom John Walter, the proprietor, not without courage, personally confronted with the *fait accompli*. After 1812, the national importance of the *Times* became an established fact under the editorships of Thomas Barnes and John Thadeus Delane. During the sixties and seventies the weight of the *Times* in public opinion was such that it could attract the cultural satire of Matthew Arnold as an exemplification of "Corinthian" style and "Philistine" outlook.

This account of the *Times* contains much personal information about editors, who as a class, in strange contrast with authors of literary fame, are apt to be shadowy figures. Barnes, unmethodical in habits but unerring in tracking sources of information, and Delane, "a radiant personality" and fond of horses, are seen exercising their judgment in national and international crises, when editorial responsibility was great; when the influence of a "leading article" could be incalculable because it was known that the paper was unpurchaseable, and that the editor was not the mouthpiece of a business combine or a politically ambitious "Fat Cat." Whatever the prejudices or the eccentricities of the three Walters, father, son, and grandson—they had no public axe to grind. If they and the editors they chose pleased the "Philistines" or the "barbarian" squirearchy, it was because they genuinely shared middle-class feeling with its stubborn dissidence qualified by qualified "love of a lord." Under Northcliffe, indeed, the new era of the new knighted millionaires fairly begins; yet even Harmsworth was a free-lance type of millionaire. (W. T. M. GAMBLE.)

BURTON, HARRY E., *The Discovery of the Ancient World.* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. 130.)

This little book describes briefly in chronological order the discovery of the Ancient World down to the beginning of the Middle Ages. The author presents the well established facts in the history of this discovery, but deliberately avoids the discussion of disputed points and problems. While the work accordingly is not intended for the specialist, it should do good service in introducing the general reader to a very interesting chapter in the history of geographical discovery. The book is furnished with a good bibliography, is well printed and indexed, and contains four maps illustrating the growth of geographical knowledge from Hecataeus to Ptolemy. (M. R. P. M.)

BYRNE, JOHN F., C. S. S. R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries.* (Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press, 1932, pp. 628.)

The year 1932 marked the bicentenary of the founding of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer and the centenary of the arrival of the first Redemptorists in America. The present volume, brought out to commemorate these events, is a record of the more important labors of the Redemptorists in the American Province prior to its division in 1875 and of the Baltimore Province from that date down to the present. Included likewise is the story of the foundations in English-speaking Canada down to 1918 when the Toronto Province was established. Because of the large number of foundations treated in the book, the story of each is necessarily brief. The hundred years of progress are described in clear, simple style with no attempt at literary ornament, exactness being particularly stressed, as the references, over a thousand in all, bear witness.

After portraying the founding of the Redemptorists by St. Alphonsus Liguori, its early trials, its establishment north of the Alps by St. Clement Hofbauer, the author traces the activities of the Redemptorists in America from the first discouraging years, when it took them so long to get a permanent foundation, down to the present day when almost four score foundations have arisen from the humble beginnings, sixteen of them in English-speaking Canada, ten in the West Indies and Brazil, and the rest in the United States.

Parish activities, missions, home and foreign, laymen's retreats, the devotion in honor of Our Lady of Perpetual Help, the education given members of the Congregation, Bishop Neumann, all are fittingly discussed. It is a mine of facts concerning the Redemptorists, particularly those east of the Mississippi. (M. J. CURLEY, C. SS. R.)

CHINARD, GILBERT, ed., *Un Français en Virginie. Voyage d'un françois Exilé pour la Religion, avec une description de la Virginie & Marilan dans l'amérique. D'après l'édition originale de 1687.* Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington, Cahier V. (Paris, Librairie E. Droz; Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 158, $2.50.) *See under* KITE, ELIZABETH S.

Circular Letters of Redemptorist Generals. (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1933, pp. viii, 297.)

This volume is a selection of circular letters of two Redemptorist Generals, Nicholas Mauron, C.SS.R. (1855-1893), and Mathias Raus, C.SS.R. (1894-1909) who ruled for over fifty years the Congregation established by Alphonsus Liguori. It makes a fit companion volume for the two books published to commemorate the bicentenary of the Redemptorists, *Redemptorist Centenaries* and *The Redemptorists in the West.* For as these latter portray the external activity of the sons of Liguori, these *Circular Letters* give a close-up of the internal spirit set up as an ideal for every Redemptorist. The imitation of Christ, through the practice of the theological virtues, the vows, humility, prayer, recollection, and love of the cross, together with practical hints for successful ministerial work and for the pursuit of personal holiness form the burden of these letters. They stress what Alphonsus stressed in his letters to his subjects, they echo the views of Alphonsus in every paragraph.

The first fifty pages of the book, a study of Alphonsus and his religious congregation serve as an appropriate introduction to the letters. (M. J. CURLEY, C.SS.R.)

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST, and ROBERT GRANNISS, *A Bibliography of the History of California, 1510-1930.* (San Francisco, printed by John Henry Nash, 1933, 3 vols., pp., v, 825.)

In 1914 Robert E. Cowan published *A Bibliography of the History of California, and the Pacific West, 1510-1906.* Counting about eight hundred and fifty titles and consisting of but one volume, it was adjudged "unquestionably one of the most valuable tools in existence for students of California history." Since then nineteen years have elapsed and with a remarkable increase in Californiana this volume lost much of its usefulness. Its place was taken by several bibliographies that dealt with the Far West as a general subject. Yet there was need of another and larger *Bibliography of the History of California.* To this need the present authors have generously responded. The original volume has been increased to three; the number of titles has been brought up to about five thousand, arranged under the name of the author in alphabetical sequence; while there has been included in the third volume a chronological index according to the date of publication as well as a subject and title index. If the original *Bibliography* was one of the most valuable tools, the present work is unquestionably *the* tool for the student of California history. And it must be added that the beauty of binding and richness of paper and type with which the acknowledged craftsmanship of its printer has enhanced it, endow it with qualities too often lacking in tools of the historian. (GERALD J. GEARY.)

CRAWFORD, S. J., *Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western Christendom* (London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 109.)

Three lectures delivered by the late Dr. Crawford under the auspices of the University of London. They are unfortunately printed without references to authorities, except such as are quoted in the text. This is due, doubtless, to the sudden death of their author.

The first lecture maintains the general thesis that the Catholic Church might have perished, humanely speaking, had it not been for the Christianization of the Anglo-Saxons. These, though throughly Roman in doctrine and discipline, were inspired by their contact with Celtic missionary ideals and learning.

The second lecture describes the enormous influence in Continental Europe of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic missionaries in the eighth century.

The third lecture maintains that classical culture despised elsewhere was preserved by the Anglo-Saxons, who derived it from their Celtic contacts and bestowed it upon the Empire of Charles the Great as a legacy to posterity.

It is hardly necessary to say that the position taken is highly provocatory. It disposes entirely of the myth, so dear to the Anglicans, that Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Christianity was anti-papal and national. It is taken for granted that the authority of the pope was the corner stone of Christian unity throughout both the East and the West; that beyond the fact that the civil authority exercised a great control over religion, which is undeniable, the supremacy of the Holy See was never lost sight of anywhere, even in the days of the greatest confusion and barbarity. (EDWARD HAWKS.)

DABNEY, VIRGINIUS, *Liberalism in the South*. (Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. 456, $3.50.)

To undertake a survey of all the liberal movements in the various fields of human interests and endeavors, over a period of more than a century and a half and throughout an area embracing nearly a fourth of the country, and furthermore to compress one's findings within the compass of a single volume, is a formidable task. The author admits it: his work, however, is characterized by discerning judgment.

From the outset he defines his terms, and that is well, for liberalism has been used as a label to cover a multitude of extravagances in the past. Premising the concern for the welfare of the average citizen as a primal element in liberalism, he couples with it the necessity for personal freedom: this is his norm for judging the value of liberal tendencies. He pauses, however, to ask whether that liberty which liberals desire above all else should be absolute or subject to limitations. And he frankly answers that there can be no absolute freedom in a civilized society.

With such a definition of terms we will not cavil; however much we may dissent from some of the appraisals of men or movements made in his work, we must admit that the author has accomplished something of permanent value both in the field of constructive social criticism, as well as in the domain of historical research. Avoiding on the one hand the iconoclastic fury that wrecks the past merely to gloat over its ruins, he remains on the other hand singularly unhampered by a blind and unnecessary loyalty to his native section. He believes with the sage whom he quotes, that "shutting one's eyes to facts removes them neither from life nor from history." What greatly increases the value of the study is the fact that of its 450 pages fully one-half are devoted to the examination of the liberal movement in the New South which he dates from the year 1900. This era he treats with

refreshing candor. Tolerant toward the Northern viewpoint, he makes no concession to the professional Southerner. Unsparing in his condemnation of "meddlesome clerics and demagogic pseudo-statesmen," he is just as fearless in his attitude toward economic and industrial questions, as he is in his espousal of the cause of justice to the Negro. Of special interest to the future research-worker is the honor-roll of editors and newspapers that fought the Klan in the South. Altogether it is a courageous and competent study, written in an interesting style. It is provided with an extensive bibliography and a good index. (J. L. Ott.)

Decker, Malcolm, *Benedict Arnold, Son of the Havens.* (Tarrytown, N. Y., William Abbatt, 1932, pp. 534, $7.50.)

This new biography of the traitor of the Revolution follows close upon the heels of the life by Mr. Sellers in 1930 and the sketch by Gamaliel Bradford in *Damaged Souls.* Mr. Decker has given a far more detailed and complete account than his predecessors, however. The author is a newpaper man and is reputed to have spent ten years in research preparing his study. The wealth of material, extensive quotations from scattered sources and the bibliography all indicate the thoroughness of this preparation. The semi-popular style betokens the touch of the journalist. Some seventy-nine illustrations, some of which are map studies, add to the worth of the book. Not the least among its virtues is extensive bibliographical comment for each chapter at the back of the book. In so extensive a work, however, it seems that occasional footnotes in the main body of the book would have been highly desirable.

Mr. Decker holds no brief for Benedict Arnold and makes no attempt to extricate him from the unsavory position generally assigned to him. In fact one can leave the biography with little but contempt for its subject. The portrayal of the character of Arnold as developing along consistent lines from youth to the time of his treason is one of the strong features of the study. One gets a glimpse of Arnold as the smuggling merchant of New Haven, cheating the agents of his King, and making pompous show with the fruits of his activity. We witness his activities, first as a browbeating radical on the eve of the Revolution, and then, thirsty for glory, participating in the attack upon Ticonderoga and quarreling over the honors. Yet ambitious for further spectacular achievement he is found taking part in the expedition against Canada, plundering the people of Montreal and returning under the cloud of suspicion of having plundered in the name of Congress for benefit of his own pocket. The eclipse and then the blaze of glory at Saratoga and the appointment at Philadelphia follow in rapid order. In control of that city he is found enforcing the regulations of Congress to his own profit as well as taking advantage of his position to engage in vast smuggling enterprises for personal gain. The rising tide of bitterness resulting in investigation and reprimand, more bluntly than commonly supposed as Mr. Decker points out, by Washington pave the way for treason. But we are reminded by the author, with interesting source materials for proof in the bibliographical chapter, that the treason began as early as June, 1779, with contacts

between Arnold and Sir Henry Clinton. Through all of these events Arnold moves as a nefarious, vain, pompous, overbearing and utterly unscrupulous figure. The final treason at West Point was a logical conclusion to such a character and such a career.

Mr. Decker has done an important piece of work which deserves the attention of careful historians. It is, however, so detailed as to at times become ununderstandable. It lacks clarity, and the journalistic style while vivid often fails to leave definite impressions and provide adequate and satisfying information. A better, clearer and more scholarly life of Benedict Arnold could still be written. (S. K. STEVENS.)

DIETZ, FREDERICK C., *English Public Finance, 1558-1641.* (New York, Century Company, 1933, pp. xviii, 478, $4.00.)

In the preface (p. 5), the author states he has divided his book into two sections, of which Part I deals with "The details of military and social pressure on the Crown Revenues, the Government's attempt to solve its problems, and the constitutional friction thus engendered." He also asserts that Part II is an analysis of certain special revenues, such as crown lands, customs at port of entry, parliamentary and clerical taxes, together with some of the administrative details of these classes of revenue.

The asserted reason for choosing the period of 1558 to 1641 is that a previous study of the early fiscal policy of the Tudors under the title of "English Government Finance, 1485 to 1558," has already been made. Thus the author has at one time or another passed under review a period of one hundred and fifty years of the financial history of the British crown and people.

The opportunity to describe in detail the work of Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-1579), who was the king's factor or royal agent at Antwerp, on the munificent salary of twenty shillings a day, a position which he retained, in spite of his Protestant views, for three reigns, has been too little depicted. This is regrettable, as his business was to raise loans from Flemish merchants, to buy arms, military stores, and even to smuggle bullion into England, thus he must have been well-informed concerning the foreign debt of the English crown.

The index has some omissions. There is no reference to Dr. Stubbs' *Book of Charters*, or to the *Dialogus de Scaccario;* nor to the Redemption Laws. We miss also reference to volumes on taxation and banking, such as *History of Taxation To and Taves*, by S. Dowell; to the *Annals of Commerce*, by Macpherson; or to the works of H. D. Macleod. (BOYD CARPENTER.)

GILBERT, E. W., *The Exploration of Western America, 1800-1850. An Historical Geography.* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1933, pp. 233, $3.25.)

In this volume Mr. Gilbert has made an excellent contribution to the literature of the Trans-Mississippi West. Though he has added no new material, he has carefully studied the available sources and so arranged them as to show the gradual acquisition of the geographical knowledge of the area. Furthermore, he uses considerable originality in the method of treatment and

in the arrangement of data. The author's declared intention to "reconstruct the geographical setting in which the explorers accomplished their work, and thus to estimate the influence of geographical factors on the history of the exploration of the region" has been fully realized. The book contains numerous quotations from the written accounts of explorers. Especially commendable are the twenty-five or more maps and charts, as well as the bibliography of twelve pages and the index of thirteen pages, which contribute much to the usableness of the work. The Introduction (first two chapters) of the volume gives a brief summary of the explorations of North America before the nineteenth century, emphasizing especially the lack of accurate information concerning the Trans-Mississippi West. Part I is an analysis, in the light of modern geographical knowledge, of the region which remained unexplored in 1800. Such factors as physiography, climate, vegetation, animals, and human inhabitants of the area are correlated on a regional basis. Part II is concerned with a detailed account of the major explorations during the first half of the nineteenth century, treated in the light of the geographical setting which the explorers themselves encountered in western America. (ASA E. MARTIN.)

GUILDAY, PETER (Ed.), *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Europe (1919-1931)*. (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1932, pp. xiv, 354.)

The several collaborators of this the second volume of the Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association are to be congratulated. They have here made available a wealth of information that is both instructive and interesting. Such a thesaurus of worthwhile facts for the American Catholic has not existed previously in such a compact and handy form. It is now possible for the active and earnest Catholic in this country to grasp in its concrete setting the basic idea of the universality of his religion, without that ever present parochial tinge far too common among Sunday-school-trained Catholics. Such problems as the relation of Church and State, education and religion, prejudice and progress, and Catholic action show themselves not in academic stiffness but in dynamic concreteness in almost every essay comprising this volume. In this feature alone, that of protraying the Church as a living organism, I feel that even the editor and the several writers did not fully realize the great benefit the volume before us would bestow on the Catholics of America. One sets this book down with a better realization that the Catholic Church is one great family made up of the children and citizens of every nation.

Each essay is worthy of praise and evidences a good grasp of the data presented. The entire volume is most practical. It may here be noted that the treatment is descriptive rather than comparative. The writers and other collaborators are well known in our country and the very mention of their names will be but a further stimulus to the cultured Catholic to seek and peruse this most praiseworthy volume. The men to whom we owe our gratitude for the volume are: Editor, Rev. P. Guilday; Carlton J. H. Hayes, who wrote the introduction; Rt. Rev. Msgr. Victor Day, who contributed the account of the Church in Belgium; Daniel Sargent, who has told with impressive

sharpness the story of the Church in England; the arresting account of the present condition of the Church in France comes from the pen of Rev. C. L. Souvay; the history of Catholicism in modern Germany was presented by Rev. F. S. Betten; Ireland, Italy, and Poland and the Catholic Church in these countries are presented by Dr. J. F. Kenney, Rev. Wilfrid Parsons and Dr. L. S. Strahkovsky respectively; Russia's and Spain's sad stories are given by Rev. E. A. Walsh and Miss M. R. Madden in a manner that cannot fail to arouse our sympathy. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

HOOVER, CALVIN B., *Germany Enters the Third Reich.* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933, pp. 243, $2.50.)

The story of Germany's latest experiment in government is essentially the story of the rise to power of the National Socialist party under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. It is consequently around this theme that Mr. Hoover had written his much-discussed book. He attacks the question of causes from the economic viewpoint, and perhaps over-emphasizes that phase of recent German development. This is a treatise in government and international relations rather than history properly so-called. For that reason Mr. Hoover is justified in departing from a purely objective attitude and in including an interesting final chapter on "Some International Consequences of the Third Reich" in which he deals with the tendencies and probabilities rather than with facts and events. (JOHN J. MENG.)

JOHNSON, EDGAR NATHANIEL, *Secular Activities of the German Episcopate, 919-1024.* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1932, pp. 276.)

This study shows the important part which the German bishops played in the civil affairs of the Empire during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The bishops were men of great ability, learned, possessing remarkable administrative powers, real leaders in every respect. In all of these ways they were valuable, and so there sprung up a strong intimacy between the Ottonians and the bishops. The bishops became the officials of the State, the educators of the court, the personal friends of the emperors—their services were required as diplomats, guardians, regents—they in fact became the political and economic mainstays of the empire. Because of this, the elections of the bishops were influenced by the emperor, for he wished men who would be loyal to the crown. This book is filled with detailed information on these activities of the episcopate and on the relations existing between the bishops and the emperors. The author points out that even though the bishops were very active in civil and political affairs, yet they never can be charged of neglecting their spiritual duties on this account. Students will find this study a valuable contribution to the literature of this period. The chapter on the bishops of Lorraine is especially interesting reading. and the characters of the bishops Bruno and Notger are well drawn. The book has been done in a praiseworthy and unbiased manner—the comprehensive use of the sources proves its worth and scholarliness. One defect which the reviewer found in this work was the inclusion of parts of the last chapters, which seem neither to be necessary nor valuable. (JAMES CECKA.)

KENNEY, JAMES F., M.A., Ph. D., *The Founding of Churchill: Being the Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay from July 14th to September 13th, 1717.* (Toronto, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932, pp. x, 213, $2.50.)

The recent completion of the Hudson Bay railway with its ocean terminal at Churchill and the scantiness of published sources for the early history of Hudson Bay and its ports, combine to make peculiarly appropriate the publication of this book by the Director of Historical Research and Publicity in the Public Archives of Canada. It might, perhaps, be enough to say of the work that it is entirely worthy of the author of that masterpiece of bibliography, *Early Sources of Irish History*, I: *Ecclesiastical*. We should add, nevertheless, that the book contains much more than the title might imply. Besides a scholarly edition of the text of Knight's journal there is a fully-referenced introduction of 108 pages, containing an early history of Churchill in its Hudson Bay setting, an account of the life and death of Captain James Knight and an outline of the later history of Churchill. There is besides a highly competent bibliographical review of the sources for the history of Hudson Bay, five original illustrations and an index. The work, in all, is a valuable and permanent contribution to Canada's historical literature. (JOHN B. O'REILLY.)

KITE, ELIZABETH S., *Brigadier-General Louis Lebègue Duportail, Commandant of Engineers in The Continental Army, 1777-1783.* (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; Philadelphia, The Dolphin Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. vii, 296, $2.50.)

The Institut Français de Washington, in spite of the general financial depression, continues to publish its beautifully printed Cahiers and Hors Series. From the viewpoint of the professional historian however, the last two volumes of Cahiers do not measure up to the standard previously set by the Institut. It is the belief of this commentator that the historical publications of learned societies, in these precarious days, should be confined to those works of permanent value to future investigators which private means find impossible to finance. Dr. Chinard's edition of *Un Français en Virginie*, irrespective of its intrinsic merit, does not fall within this category, as neither does Dr. Olivier's *Iconographie Métallique du Général Lafayette*. The introduction to the first of these two Cahiers is not the best example of Professor Chinard's unquestioned ability in the field of literary criticism, being little more than a modern French transcription of his voyager's adventures. Through some regrettable error, the appended critical notes on the text omit an entire section in which such notes are indicated, that entitled: "Des Animaux tant domestiques que sauvages."

Repertories of the type of Dr. Olivier's are as unusual as they are interesting. Their practical value, however, may be questioned. Would not a complete guide to Lafayette's writings and their present location, whether in print or in public or private archives, be of more service to the serious student of Lafayette's life and works than a list of medals struck in his honor? Certainly such a guide would be provocative of further research, a contribu-

tion which the *Repertoire* under discussion precludes by its very character. Excellent drawings and half-tone reproductions furnish illustrations of practically every item listed.

Dr. Kite's study of Duportail, though less pretentious in format, is nevertheless the most interesting of the three publications. It is a mine of hitherto unpublished sources dealing with the establishment of the American Corps of Engineers. Letters and documents of all sorts, carefully selected from the manuscript material in the Library of Congress and the Collections of the American Philosophical Society, are tied together by a skeleton narrative that furnishes a splendid running commentary upon this heretofore neglected phase of American Revolutionary history. Though it is not included in the Institut's chief series of Historical Documents, Miss Kite's work deserves the careful attention of those interested in her field. (JOHN J. MENG.)

KNOX, RONALD, *Broadcast Minds.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1933, pp. xv, 280.)

Dean Swift would have enjoyed this book were he alive today, not perhaps so much for the contents as for its manner of approach. He would have set the volume down with the observation, "Now at last I have a peer in the proper and effective use of satire." With the firmness that flows from conviction, with the zeal that springs from love of truth, and with the urbanity that is the fruit and flower of true culture, Father Knox reviews and appreciates the work of those "who select from the little hand-books those statements, those points of view which tell in favour of the thesis they want to establish, concealing any statements or points of view which tell in a contrary direction, and then serve up the whole to us as the best conclusions of modern research, disarming all opposition by appealing to the sacred name of science." The works criticized are from the pens of such omniscientists, as he terms them, as H. G. Wells, Julian Huxley, Lord Russell, Gerald Heard, Langdon-Davies, and Mencken.

The hero-worshippers of these "Broadcast Minds," the so-called intelligensia of the Nordic type, will be, let us hope, shocked, yes will squirm (for none is so touchy as they) when they learn from these trenchant exposures how unscientific, how unreliable, and how hollow these, their idols, are.

The first chapter, wherein the author treats Broadcastmindedness, and the last chapter where Father Knox shows most effectively that there is no conflict between Religion and Science, are exceptionally well-done. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

LUSSEAU et COLLOMB, Abbés, *Les Evangiles: Manuel D'Etudes Bibliques.* Tome IV. (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1932, pp. 907.)

This book is written for seminarians and is not a compendium. Two volumes of this manual have already appeared. The present volume treats of the Gospels. The authors tell us that they have adopted a *copiosa* form because an extended treatment of the subject is best adapted to the needs of seminarians. This position is open to objection but the present volume on

the Gospels is a decided help both to teacher and student. It is not only a manual, it is an exegetical *summa*. To a general introduction is added a detailed analysis of and a commentary on the Gospels. The explanations and comments are taken from the best authors. The book faithfully reproduces the actual state of biblical knowledge and is abreast of the sane and sound position taken by modern thought. A good working bibliography is added. (J. S. CONSIDINE, O.P.)

MALDEN, R. H., F. R. Hist. Soc., Dean of Wells, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England.* (London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 80.)

It is hard to take this "Dissuasive of Popery" seriously. It is a reprint of four popular lectures. Its value may be judged from the following samples: "the word *Pope* is really equivalent to *Daddy*"; "we do not *know* that S. Peter ever was in Rome . . . I think it extremely probable . . . that he was martyred there. . . . But that can never be a matter of certainty"; the Great Schism began in 1303; "it is possible to argue that the Maid of Orleans did more than any one single person to make the reformation of the sixteenth century possible in England; and, that therefore, S. Joan dealt the Roman Church one of the most formidable blows which it has received"; "I believe that Cranmer and the English lawyers were right, both on the point of fact and the point of law . . . the union of Catherine and Henry had never been a marriage"; Pius V implied that the Church of England was not heretical in 1572; bishops derive their right to exercise their functions from the State; it is "doubtful if any reputable theologian really holds the doctrine" of Transubstantiation; "the Catholic Church as a visible concrete fact does not exist in the world to-day"; "Gregory VII laid down that the civil power is derived from the devil".

The lectures commence with the statement that "if a General Council could be held the Pope would, in the opinion of every reasonable person, be the one to summon it, determine its place of meeting and preside over it". We ask, why? Everything in the book would seem to show that the Pope has no right human or divine to do any such thing.

Anglicanism we are told is differentiated by five distinctive notes. It is a comparatively simple system; it gives full recognition to the responsibility of the individual; it recognizes knowledge through whatever channel it may come; it is comprehensive enough to include Anglo-Catholics, Evangelicals and Modernists, for it rejects ecclesiastical infallibility; it recognizes the right of private judgment. Wherein lies the distinctiveness? Some of these notes are Catholic; all of them are Protestant. (EDWARD HAWKS.)

MILLER, HERBERT ADOLPHUS, *The Beginnings of Tomorrow: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Great Society.* Introduction by Jerome Davis. (New York, D. C. Heath Co., 1933, pp. xiv, 310.)

With the rapid development of transportation and communication, the ancient cultures of the East have been brought into such close contact with Western culture that important adjustments leading to the growth of cosmopolitanism and a new world unity are inevitable. Revolutions, economic

and social, to which the author assigns a position of increasing importance, nationalism, and race-consciousness, are highly significant factors in this development. This main thesis of *The Beginnings of Tomorrow* is confirmed by a broad survey of the characteristic features of the cultures of Russia, Japan, China, India, and minor divisions of the near and far East for the purpose of evaluating the contributions which each will make to the Cosmic Process. By the further analysis of such changes in intercultural relations the science of sociology will be enriched, and at the same time add to our understanding of human relations. In this account of the increasing tendencies towards unity in the various cultures of the world the civilization of the West no longer occupies a position of unique importance. Its weaknesses are pointed out, and the need of fundamental adjustments, economic, political, and social, are emphasized. This broad and necessarily somewhat impressionistic survey of new world cultural forces is buttressed by an array of facts and figures gathered during the extensive travels of this veteran sociologist. (C. W. HASEK.)

MIONI, UGO, *La Comtesse Marie-Thérèse Ledóchowska, La Mère des Missions d'Afrique.* (Turin and Rome, Casa Editrice Marietti, 1932, pp. viii, 234.)

Countess Ledóchowsha was the niece of Cardinal Ledóchowski and the sister of the present General of the Society of Jesus. Father Mioni published her biography in Italian in 1930, of which the present edition is a French translation. The author tells us that he met the Countess for the first time in 1894, shortly after she had received the formal permission of Pope Leo XIII to establish her society. Since the process of beatification and canonization of the Servant of God, Countess Ledóchowska, has begun, Father Mioni wishes to make known her virtues and saintly life. He assures us that all the data which he has gathered are based on his personal knowledge and experience, and on the testimony of trustworthy persons.

The writer has sympathetically but meticulously depicted a noble life of continuous sacrifice and tender devotedness to the dissemination of the sweet teaching of the Saviour. Such lives are the glory of the Church; they constitute the veritable *fine fleur* of Christian enlightenment and civilization. This edifying biography shows that the foundress of the "St. Peter Claver Sodality" was truly the continuator of the heroic work of Cardinal Lavigerie. Father Mioni's book is an invaluable contribution to contemporary hagiography. (J. J. ROLBIECKI.)

MORDTMANN, J. H., und EUGEN MITTWOCH, *Altsüdarabischen Inschriften.* (Roma, Sumptibus Pontificii-Biblici, 1933, pp. 50, Lire 7.00.)

The present publication is a reprint of articles that appeared in *Orientalia* in 1932 and 1933. The original inscriptions are engraved on various objects; they were photographed, copied and occasionally squeezed by Dr. H. v. Wissmann in Aden and Hadramaut. Dr. Wissmann placed the material at the disposal of the authors. The inscriptions come from Ausan, Gataban and Hadramaut. Many of these were in the collection of Kaiky Muncherjee, a Persian residing at Aden. He had his collection photographed and published an album

out of which P. Jaussen published his article in *Revue Biblique*, 1926, pp. 548 ff., which was supplemented by Ryckmans, *ibid.*, 1927. Some of the same inscriptions are reproduced in the present work and naturally with better reproductions the authors have been able to correct previous readings. The work is divided into two parts: I. Inscriptions from Aden, and II. Inscriptions from Hadramaut. The text is given in the original script, transliterated into Hebrew and translated into German. The authors need no introduction to the reading public. They have done their work well. Let us hope that they will continue to give us such excellent studies, which are of prime importance for the history of ancient Arabia. (R. BUTIN, S. M.)

MUGGLEBEE, RUTH, *Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower.* With a Foreword by Hon. Alfred E. Smith. (Boston, L. C. Page and Company, 1933, pp. 321, $2.50.)

The numerous admirers of the Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin will be delighted with Miss Mugglebee's book. They will find reflected in it their enthusiastic devotion to the man and his efforts, and they will be grateful to the author for an introduction to interesting and intimate details of Father Coughlin's life that are heightened by the free use of pictorial illustration. Hostile critics may object to the biography as sustained panegyric such as can safely be bestowed only on those whose work has stood the test of time. Those in the *via media* will find in the book a detailed background of Father Coughlin's life, the facts of which will be of service to the future investigator who may be undertaking to evaluate this remarkable chapter contributed by Father Coughlin to the social and religious history of the United States. The comparison with Savanarola is not a happy touch. (LINDA MALEY O'HARA.)

OLIVIER, DR. P., *Iconographie Métallique du Général Lafayette. Essai de Répertoire des Médailles, Medaillons et Jetons frappés à son nom ou à son effigie tant en France qu'en Amérique.* Historical Documents, Institut Français de Washington, Cahier VI. (Paris, Charles Florange; Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. xiv, 85, 5 plates, $2.50.) *See under* KITE, ELIZABETH S.

POURRAT, Very Rev. PIERRE, S.S., *The Life of Father Olier.* Translated by Rev. W. S. Reilly, S.S. (Baltimore, The Voice Publishing Company, 1932, pp. 223.).

This neat and attractive volume of 200 odd pages is divided into three parts, depicting Father Olier's preparation for the priesthood, his missionary activities and his founding of the seminaries. The story of his youth is most attractive because it shows the human qualities of the subject—a detail the other two parts of this book and all parts of most lives of this kind omit.

Father Pourrat has done well in his effort to supply us with the much needed popular version of Father Olier's life. At times, however, the genius of Father Pourrat detracts from the popularity the book might have, since few ordinary readers enjoy reading the many and varied private revelations claimed in this volume. In other words, there may be too much of the

author of Christian spirituality and not enough of the author of a popular life of Father Olier. The translator has done a good job; never does the English obstruct the thought. The possible conversion of England's Charles II by Olier, the latter's interst in the Canadian mission, his intimacy with the saintly Eudes, de Sales, Condren, de Paul, Tronson and Berulle, and his courageous fight against Jansenism all go to make this volume most interesting reading from cover to cover. The credit for setting up the first seminary is very wisely relegated to the background, and, instead, there is featured the coöperating spirit of de Paul, the Oratorians, Marie Rousseau, and Olier for the development of priests. All former and present pupils of the sacrificing Sulpicians should read this attractive account of the holy man whose love for priests is seen even to this day in the work of his successors. (R. J. CLANCY, C. S. C.)

Ross, E. J., *A Survey of Sociology.* (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Co., 1932, pp. xxii, 570, $3.50.)

The book is in four parts. Part I "deals with the origin, growth and structure of society." Part II contains "a series of chapters embracing all the leading issues of industrial life, such as work, wages, trade unionism, workers' risks, and social insurance." Part III treats of questions of poverty, dependency, and relief, eugenics, marriage and the family; and the social treatment of defectives, criminals and delinquents. Part IV is concerned with rural life, the Negro problem, education and the practical application of sociology in social service and Catholic Action. There is a good deal of difference of opinion as to what sociology really is and so it may be well to quote the author's definition of Christian sociology as "nothing more than an ascertainment of and an endeavor to carry out the precepts of justice and charity." Perhaps the title of this work should have been "Christian Sociology" rather than "a Survey of Sociology." In presenting the material from this point of view the author is on safe ground in quoting freely from the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pius XI.

As is to be expected in a work of such wide range, the author has not an equally sure touch in all its parts. As an illustration, take the question of large scale production. In the treatment of Malthus "scientific methods of production, and large scale operation with their elimination of waste" are given an important place in the checking of "any tendency toward overpopulation at the present time" (p. 391). On the other hand, the author has a great deal of sympathy for the distributist ideal according to which small craftsmen and local traders would supply the farmers with manufactured goods leaving all industries which could not be "distributed" to be nationalized (p. 172). Again, in the section treating of the "Legitimacy of Interest" (pp. 159-162), the author permits the reader to believe that he is being told why St. Thomas denied the legitimacy of interest-taking on money loans and why such interest-taking is permitted today. He is not being told. On the whole the book is well organized and readable and should prove successful in the class room. (FRANK O'HARA.)

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA, *Fifty Years Retrospect: Canada: 1882-1932* (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1932, pp. viii, 179, $2.00.)

In this attractive book of easily legible type, the Royal Society of Canada has brought together a series of twenty-four papers of great merit to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary of establishment in Canada. Grouped around the presidential address as a center, these surveys show the progress in Canada of the various subjects covered by the five sections of the Royal Society during its lifetime. Historians, interested in Canadian bibliography, will find some valuable suggestions in the sixth paper entitled, "Fifty Years of Canadian History." The work, as a whole, constitutes a striking proof of the dominating part taken by Fellows of the Royal Society in the intellectual and scientific life of the Dominion for a half a century, and of the extent and value of the contributions made by the society and its members to the welfare of their country. (FINTAN WALKER.)

STOKER, SPENCER, *The Schools and International Understanding.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, 1933, pp. xxvii, 243, $2.50.)

The purpose of this work is to set forth the extent to which facilities are available and utilized in the schools for promoting international understanding. In an introduction of sixteen pages Mr. Stoker presents an interesting and enlightening survey of the international aspects of ancient and medieval education, which prepares the reader for an appreciation of the obstacles which modern nationalism has at times deliberately thrown across the path of learning and thus "displaced the cultural unity of the preceding centuries". The author sets forth in a very systematic manner in the eight chapters the numerous efforts (mostly in the last seventy-five years) to offset excessive nationalism by promoting international understanding through the universities, colleges, and lower schools. Such means as interchange of students and professors, international committees or intellectual coöperation, vacation courses abroad, international federation of teachers, revision of textbooks, and the work of the League of Nations in the field of intellectual coöperation are briefly discussed. The book is well written and carefully documented and includes an extensive bibliography. It is a very valuable contribution to the study of the development of international organization and understanding. (J. TANGER.)

STYRON, ARTHUR, *The Three Pelicans.* (New York, Harrison Smith and Robert Haas, 1932, pp. 414.)

To write the life of any man is not an easy task. To write the life of a man like Thomas Cranmer is more than a task, it is a colossal undertaking. Its many shades and twisted yearnings, its power of the pen and weakness of principle, its ambitions and its vacillations are like a tangled knot which only the deft and patient hand of a master can untwist and weave into proper place and proportion. That Arthur Styron has done this in a superior manner can be seen by those who will be fortunate enough to peruse *The Three Pelicans.* With vigor and finesse has the author of this volume accomplished his work of limning that Archbishop of Canterbury who holds that unenviable place of

being the one who forced "Merrie England" to sever for so many years her spiritual allegiance with the Roman Catholic Church. No book of recent date makes the position of Henry the Eighth's crafty archbishop stand out so sharply and so sadly as does this work.

The first chapter strikes the keynote of the volume as it portrays the unfortunate man "staring moodily into the deepening twilight". Here we see this sullen, homesick, disappointed youth longing for what he himself by his marriage to Black Joan had blocked, namely, a name and fame among the intellectuals of Cambridge. As he stood there facing the facts that had been woven by selfishness and passion, yet torn by the sting of conscience, the future successor of Wolsey, as the canonical guide for the king of the realm, thought those thoughts that were to motivate his future conduct and secure for him the position of being the founder in fact of the Anglican or Protestant-Episcopal sect.

From the meeting at Greenwich until that horrible anti-climax just beyond the little Church of St. Mary's at Oxford, the author of this matchless biographical study keenly analyzes the life and deeds of the author of the *Book of Common Prayer*. In its seventeen chapters we see how step by step he advanced his views until by the power of his pen, the authority of his archiepiscopal office and his influence with Edward he imposed on the realm the foundation stone of Episcopalianism. No one has ever told that story of the *Book of Common Prayer* as has Styron in his chapter The Triumph—here we have truly a triumph not merely in name but in factual accuracy and literary nicety.

To the student of Church history this book is a treasure-house of facts. It is also a mosaic of mediaeval English life. The author evidences a powerful grasp of the life of the times when Cranmer lived, worked, and left as his monument the *Book of Common Prayer*. (LEO L. MCVAY.)

SWISS-AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origin*. (New York, J. T. White and Co., 1932, pp. x, 266.)

This, the first of a number of studies to be prepared by the Swiss-American Historical Society, organized in 1927, contains brief biographies of seventy-two prominent Americans of Swiss origin who are no longer living. The biographies include the lives of pioneers, theologians, soldiers, statesmen, physicians and surgeons, industrialists, merchants, bankers, scientists, journalists, and engineers, who came to the United States and contributed to its cultural development in notable ways. Included in the list are such well-known names as ex-president Hoover, John Sutter, Albert Gallatin, the Agassiz, Florian Cajori, H. C. Frick, Adrian Iselin, and the Delmonicos. In the accounts of the lives of these prominent Swiss their American experience has been stressed, and the source-material is frequently represented by direct personal reminiscences of the authors. In this way much new historical material has been assembled which throws light on the significant part played by an element of our population only too often referred to as of German, French or Italian origins. The volume is enriched by twenty-four excellent pictures of various individuals. (C. W. HASEK.)

VOLZ, HANS, *Drei Schriften gegen Luthers Schmalkaldische Artikel von Cochläus, Witzel und Hoffmeister (1538 und 1539). [Corpus Catholicorum: Werke katholischer Schriftsteller im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung,* Heft 18.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp. lxxi, 275, 12 Rm.)

Many looked forward to the convening of a Council to end the schism brought about by Luther. In 1536 the Council was to convene and Luther prepared a summary of his doctrines—the Schmalkald Articles—as a basis for discussion. Three German theologians of prominence took up Luther's statements one by one and refuted them. Then, as now, the Catholic world paid little attention to the writings of its champions; the Schmalkald Articles, however, received wide publicity and circulation. They also have been very much used by scholars since the sixteenth century; not so the replies of the theologians—indeed, the Hoffmeister dissertation survived in but a single copy preserved at Colmar. The editors of the *Corpus Catholicorum*, and Dr. Volz, in particular, have, therefore, done the historical world another service in this production. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

VON WEINRICH, FRANZ JOHANNES, *S. Elizabeth of Hungary.* English translation by I. J. Collins. (London, Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1932, pp. 316.)

The presentation of this thirteenth-century saint in the manner of a heroine of romance is a distinct contribution to the modern movement to popularize stories of sanctity. In it, Elizabeth of Hungary moves through pages of uncommon interest to historian or hagiographer. Glimpses are given of minnesingers, landgraves, dukes, and emperors, popes and saints (notably of Otto IV, Frederick II, Pope Gregory IX, and St. Francis of Assisi). Dominating at every point a historical setting of unusual vividness and richness of detail is Elizabeth, the princess, loving and helping the poor; Elizabeth, the woman, loving her husband, Ludwig, with an exalted human love; and Elizabeth, the widow, allying herself with the new Order of St. Francis, and at last reaching her Heaven on earth in the perfect love of God in His poor. Congratulations are due to the translator for reproducing with rare success the spirit and style of an original that is an ornament to the literature of the saints. (LINDA MALEY O'HARA.)

WALDMAN, MILTON, *King, Queen, Jack: Philip of Spain Courts Elizabeth.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1931, pp. viii, 275, $3.50.)

The dramatic in history powerfully enkindles the imagination, the tragic fascinates the intellect. Relief from such tension is found in the various side issues of tragic comedies which partaking of the nature of both are sufficiently apart from the real foci of struggle to entertain. One such incident in the sixteenth century Mr. Waldman has selected for his study, the project of the marriage between Philip of Spain and Elizabeth of England. The story of the mission of Philip's ambassador, Don Gomez Súarez de Figueroa, Count of Feria, to unite again the crowns of Spain and England, is skilfully told so as to bring out the conflicting ambitions of the chief actors and to contrast their personalities. As such the book reads like a novel. To this end

Mr. Waldman has carefully consulted his sources and documents, selected his facts and constructed with brilliance his conception of Elizabeth and Philip. A certain flippancy in the title is reflected in the adjectives so artfully placed. This subtly shifts the emphasis of the tragedy to conventionalized history as we have it in the textbooks. Philip was short of stature and self-contained beyond the strength of most men, conscientious to a scruple, a painful trait but with its noble side. Yet how much of this is conveyed in the opening sentence, "Towards the end of October, 1558, in the old Palace of the Netherlands at Brussels sat a solitary little man wrestling with a large decision"? Philip had faith and piety, but what of this can be understood from, "In his innermost heart he felt that God would in the end evolve a satisfactory solution to the problems that beset a devout and industrious Christian prince"?

In the background of Philip's decision lay the two great issues of the choice of Europe for or against religious unity, and the policy of France which was to exhaust Spain almost beyond repair, and to wound France herself perhaps beyond recovery. In the background of Elizabeth's decision lay the ambitions of "Cecil's gang" to hold what they had seized even though it meant the ruin of Europe. The oblique angle at which we glimpse these tremendous issues though the little comedy when Elizabeth kept the grave and polished Count of Feria dangling at her court for her answer to Philip's proposal, does not allow us to ignore them. It but offers the more penetrating view to those who have an eye for the tragic. And Mr. Waldman ends his little tale of these four months in the life of Elizabeth and Philip with his most dramatic touches, the unexpected death of Henry II of France and the expected coronation of Mary Stuart as Queen of France which was to have such unexpected results. Of such are the dramatic climaxes of history, but as Philip knew man is not their author, and knowing this he died in his chosen Escorial how much more content than the lady who had rejected his proposal. (MARIE R. MADDEN.)

WALLACE, WILLIAM KAY, *Our Obsolete Constitution.* (New York, John Day and Co., 1932, pp. 226, $2.00.)

Mr. Wallace approaches the examination of our Constitution equipped with a wide experience gained as secretary to American embassies, a newspaper correspondent, and student and writer on post-war political and economic problems both in their national and international aspects. He presents in a direct and forceful manner in the compass of two hundred pages arguments to show that our Constitution provides a technique in government satisfactory for the management of public affairs half a century ago when our economic system was relatively primitive, but inadequate for present day problems. More particularly it is the dominance of the so-called inalienable rights of the individual embodied in the social philosophy of the constitution that makes it obsolete in the present day of cohesive capitalistic society. Amendment of the fundamental law will not suffice. A new constitution in conformity with the principle and scientific planning of capitalism is proposed by Mr. Wallace as the only fitting code for the present economic and social order. Several of the recent amendments he contends have done vio-

lence to the Constitution of 1789, and further amendment instead of proving remedial would only add confusion. On this point there is likely to be substantial disagreement, and the suggestion may be ventured that he has passed over too lightly the practice and the possibilities of adjusting our Constitution to the needs of the day by usage, interpretation, and revision. His complete rejection of the present Constitution is accounted for in large part by his insistence upon a predominantly economic rather than a political organization of the state. He demands a new constitution which will provide a guarantee of economic liberty and social security, a more efficient government, a new definition of personal liberty and property, and a planned national economy. There is much of value in this book for the student of national recovery programs. (J. TANGER.)

WOYWOOD, STANISLAUS, O.F.M., *Canonical Decisions of the Holy See.* (New York, Joseph F. Wagner, 1933, pp. vi, 309, $3.00.)

The author of this collection has gathered together the many decisions of the Roman Congregations and Tribunals and the solutions of the Commission for the Interpretation of the Canons of the Code, which have been published to solve the doubts about or to elucidate the legislation of the Code of Canon Law. To these he has added the decrees and instructions which the Holy See has promulgated to make the law more effective. All these, excepting certain rarer formulas in the Appendix, he has done into English. There is an analytical index. (E. C. D.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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EUROPEAN

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L'Empereur Constantin et ses plus récents historiens. Jacques Zeiller (*Correspondant*, October).
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UNITED STATES

American Catholic History and European Historians. Peter Guilday (*America*, September 16).

Adventurous Scholarship. F. C. Lockwood (*Catholic World*, November). Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.

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The Sign of the Cross. H. R. Holand (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, December). Erected by Fr. Allouez in southern Wisconsin.

Father Helias D'Huddeghem, S. J., Pioneer Missioner among the Germans,

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